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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*JULY 1, 1914*

## ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE BEFORE THE MUTINY

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

STEAM power and electricity have practically halved the world's superficies, bringing Japan and New Zealand nearer London than India was sixty years ago. At that period the process of shrinkage had scarcely begun. Most outward-bound passengers rounded the Cape in Green's splendid sailing vessels, and those who dreaded a four months' voyage had to pay dearly for the speedier transit offered by the P. and O. "John Company," enthroned in Leadenhall Street, treated their Eastern Empire as a close preserve for relatives and friends. Anglo-Indians constituted a caste, speaking a jargon of their own, and possessing interests apart from those of their fellow-countrymen. Public feeling was sometimes raised to fever pitch by news of victory or reverse in Afghanistan and the Punjab. Lord Dalhousie's annexations fanned the flame of incipient Imperialism, and the optimism of his utterances on laying down the sceptre led to the delusion that British rule in the East rested on sure foundations. For the man in the street that mysterious realm was the breeding-ground of an army of hypochondriacs, some of whom had shaken the pagoda-tree with advantage to themselves, while the rest were chiefly occupied in nursing a disordered liver. There is a story to the effect that William Makepeace

Thackeray joined the Oriental Club in Hanover Square in order to pick up local colour for his "Newcomes": that he became aware of a constant rumbling there, as though some heavy vehicle were passing in the street, and eventually traced it to the wailing of old Indian members who objected to the quality of the Club curry!

The cataclysm of 1857 came as a bolt from the blue. I well remember a Sunday morning late in June, when the congregation, leaving church, were told by a well-known Peer that despatches had come announcing a general slaughter of English folk by rebellious sepoys. The blank consternation caused by his news left an indelible impression on my childish brain. England's heart was, indeed, more cruelly wrung by tales of slaughtered women and children than it had been by any phase of the death-struggle with Napoleon. Public indignation became unreasoning frenzy—witness Tenniel's lurid cartoon in *Punch*, with its motto, "O God of Battles, steel my soldiers' hearts!" While the fate of Empire hung in the balance, India was, so to speak, discovered by home-staying Britons; and their thirst for further knowledge produced a flood of literature—if the word applies to countless volumes describing life in the East. Most of them have long since sped to the limbo that awaits all work turned out in a hurry and in response to sudden demand. But the delver among these ephemerides occasionally lights upon a really human document, which relates, in simple language, the impressions made on a tourist by Anglo-Indian life on the eve of a mighty cataclysm.

Of such is "The Timely Retreat," by Evelyn and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlop, which went into a second edition in 1858. The sisters had been reared in an Anglo-Indian atmosphere. Relatives galore had returned from Bengal with competent fortunes, their home was crammed with outlandish curios, and Indian affairs supplied the staple conversation in the family circle. It was only natural that young and ardent spirits should feel the

call of the East; and when a civilian brother stationed at Meerut hinted that the girls might just as well help him to keep house for a year or two, as follow beaten tracks in the old country, his invitation was accepted with alacrity. One finds it difficult to realize the sensation excited in the Wallace-Dunlop clan by this daring verdict: the farewell parties given by friends; the bets registered for and against the tourists' return. It is still more surprising to learn that a brace of visitors to India encumbered themselves with many tons of luggage, including fifty-two frocks apiece; and timed their departure so as to reach tropical latitudes at the outset of the hot weather. Many a misfortune arose from these blunders, and the latter nearly proved fatal to two young lives.

The outward voyage is described with considerable humour, heightened by naive caricature portraits of the girls' fellow-passengers. But a theme so threadbare need not detain us for long. Early in February, 1856, the venturesome pair sailed from Southampton in a paddle-boat of the P. and O. fleet. On reaching Alexandria they took rail to Cairo, and crossed the desert in mule-drawn vehicles resembling bathing-machines. At Suez they embarked in another paddle-steamer, swarming with cockroaches, and set foot in Calcutta on March 23, 1856.

As scions of the Anglo-Indian aristocracy the Wallace-Dunlops were welcomed by a family friend, whose mansion graced Chowringhee, a thoroughfare aptly styled the "Park Lane of Calcutta." They were deeply impressed by the grandeur of their host's establishment, and compared the Course of an evening to Hyde Park, with great sailing-ships anchored in the River Hughli alongside in lieu of the pleasure-craft that skimmed the Serpentine at home. Calcutta was then "a city of pale-faced queens," whose costume lagged six months behind Paris fashions, and whose conversation smacked of parochialism. The girls were bored to extinction by the professional "shop" that formed its staple; they groaned under the espionage and

tittle-tattle of local society, and failed to understand the flutter in Calcutta dovecots caused by the news that two female "griffs," *anglice* "newcomers," intended to travel nearly 900 miles up-country without an escort. For residents in the Metropolis, the Mofussil, or, as we should say, the "Provinces," was a *terra incognita*, inhabited by exiles whose plight excited pity and contempt.

As the East India Railway extended no farther than Raniganj, a distance of 120 miles, the remainder of the journey had to be made in four-wheeled vehicles of the "growler" type, drawn by a pair of ill-fed ponies. After lengthy correspondence, our heroines contracted with the North-Western Transit Company for conveyance between Raniganj and Meerut. Their cherished finery was consigned to a bullock train, which might arrive at its destination in six weeks' or two months' time. On reaching the railway's Ultima Thule, their troubles began with a vengeance. Horses were changed every six miles, and at intervals of twenty-four they halted at a "dák bungalow," or rest-house, maintained by Government in the absence of private enterprise. Their tedium was relieved by the prattle of two young officers who joined forces with them; but Londoners reared in the lap of luxury needed all their philosophic outfit to endure the hardships of travel. The dák bungalow menu never rose superior to grilled fowl, known as "sudden death," because the skinny biped that supplied it was always picking up sustenance in the purlieus when carriages drove up. Unbridged rivers had to be crossed in crazy ferry-boats, whose sooty Charons tried to levy blackmail in mid-stream. Tigers and dacoits were known to haunt the jungly tracts traversed by the Grand Trunk road. A sharp attack of fever, arising from exposure to the burning sun, came as a climax to the sisters' misfortunes, and they reached Meerut in sorry plight.

All the proper names in their narrative are travestied beyond recognition. Meerut becomes Doorghur; and the brother who ruled that district as Magorhàte, figures under



the alias "Keith." If he was a fair sample of the Indian civilian in pre-Mutiny days, one of the causes of that cataclysm leaps to light. It was a complete loss of touch between English officials and the teeming population for whose welfare they were responsible. "Keith" had a positive horror of natives. He declared that he could detect the copperish smell of the colouring matter in their skins the instant they entered the room, and would sooner be touched by a toad than by one of their clammy hands. Even Christmas, with its message of peace to men of goodwill, called no truce to his rooted antipathy. At that season Indian notables follow a graceful custom of despatching *dhális*, or baskets containing fruit, vegetables, sweetmeats, and flowers, to the houses of Europeans of rank. They are generally accepted in a friendly spirit; the poor coolies who bring them are sent away with a rupee as *bakshish*, and the donor's heart is rejoiced by a note expressing thanks. Keith was probably ignorant of Talleyrand's cynical but common-sense maxim: "If you wish to attach a man to yourself, let him do *you* a favour." He would never allow a *dháli* to cross his threshold on the plea that it indicated a lively sense of favours to come. His sisters were highly amused by the eagerness with which the staff of the police station used to tumble out to render obeisance to the *Bara Sahab*; but he always cut short their salutations with a few hasty words, and rode onwards with his nose in the air. The glories of Indian art excited this philistine's contempt. "He had such an aversion to everything native that he would scarcely have walked ten yards to see the most beautiful mosque." That survival from the Tribal Era, which is falsely styled "sport," was Keith's one absorbing passion. His sanctum was crammed with the skins of slaughtered beasts, recalling Fenimore Cooper's descriptions of the Red Indian's wigwam.

It must be admitted that Keith's official duties left him no leisure to cultivate the unbought graces of life. After a long morning's work at the desk at home, he left at 10 a.m.

for Court, where he toiled without any interval for luncheon until 7 p.m., or even later. And much of the work undertaken by a District Chief in those days must have been the merest routine. Keith had no well-trained staff of British and Indian subordinates, each placed in charge of a branch of his office and responsible for its efficiency. The principle of specialization was unknown; or at least never applied. In order to divine the causes of the Great Rebellion, we must glance back on the history of Indian administration.

When a company of English merchants who were out solely for pecuniary gain found themselves compelled to grasp the sceptre of rule, they tinkered feebly with the legal and revenue systems inherited from the Moghal predecessors. Each district throughout Upper India had a European chief, who was supposed to control a horde of corrupt subordinates. But the Directors' main object was to reduce working expenses, in order to declare high dividends on East India stock. They thought to compass the end by allotting nominal salaries to their European servants, and allowing them the privilege of private trade. It is always perilous to place a man's personal interests in opposition to those of the community. District chiefs were, of course, more concerned in lining their own pockets than fulfilling public duties. Many a "Factor," who figured in the Company's books as in receipt of a salary of £300, retired to England with a fortune of £100,000 and upwards before he had reached the Rubicon of forty. The result of this purblind policy was a serious loss of revenue; and the Marquis Cornwallis was despatched to India as Governor-General in 1786 with a mandate to carry out drastic reforms in the Civil Service. That great statesman knew that English Judges had been corrupt and subservient until their salaries were raised to a point which placed them above temptation, and he argued rightly that the best paid servants are generally the most efficient. The Company's officers were therefore forbidden to embark in private trade, or accept any emoluments beyond their Government

pay, which was increased to an amount sufficient for all reasonable expenses. But the counting-house heresy that working cost must be kept down led Lord Cornwallis to starve his establishments. To each district, with an average area of 4,000 square miles and half as many million inhabitants, there was given a "Magistrate," charged with criminal functions, and a "Collector," for realizing the Government revenue. The subordinate staffs were ridiculously small; and the enormous amount of routine work devolving on these high officials precluded them from keeping in touch with Indian opinion. This train of causation bulked largely among the incidents which led up to the Mutiny of 1857, and yet it has never received due attention from historians.

So much for the master: his abode was a huge one-storied edifice consisting of a centre with wings. The first was occupied in a drawing-room seventy feet long, and a dining-room to match. Scanty furniture, whitewashed walls, and a ceiling sustained by teak rafters gave the state apartments a somewhat cheerless appearance. On either side were bedrooms, entered by curtained doorways. During the hot weather every communication with the external glare was hermetically closed at sunrise; gloom overspread the whole house, and its silence was broken only by the creaking of punkahs. In and out the rooms a host of bare-footed servants flitted noiselessly; there was an uncanny suggestion of "eyes everywhere," rendering privacy impossible.

Our authoress' description of the "long, long Indian day" proves that Anglo-Indian customs have altered for the better in half a century. Doctors have at length discovered that the fever-breeding *Anopheles* is most vigorous during the hours preceding dawn, and forbid their charges to leave the shelter of mosquito curtains until the soil has been warmed by solar rays. In 1856 early rising was a fetish. European soldiers mustered for parade at five in the morning, after fortifying their constitutions with a dram



of ardent spirits. These English maidens "went one better." At 4 a.m. the ayah aroused them from fevered sleep; they donned riding-habits by candle-light, and sallied forth without partaking of *chota haziri*. The "little breakfast" of eggs, tea, toast, and fruit is now so firmly established that one is startled by learning that Keith set his face against that harmless, necessary repast. In his opinion, *chhota haziri* was a vice from which half the prevailing liver-complaints originated. So the luckless sisters were content with a morsel of bread and a glass of water before commencing the daily round. Then they mounted a pair of pot-bellied ponies for an hour's canter on the Meerut Racecourse. At half-past five they returned to bed and the punkah's fitful breeze until nine, when they bathed and dressed for the day. The weary hours before breakfast were spent in inditing notes to Meerut acquaintances, for no Indian servant can be trusted with a verbal message other than *salâm*, meaning "many thanks." Breakfast was a movable feast—nominally 9.30, but often deferred for an hour by Keith's unpunctuality. It invariably consisted of fish, curry, rice and *dhal*, or boiled pulse. Keith had probably never heard of Brillat-Savarin's famous maxim—"Animals feed, man eats." During four years of bachelordom he had subsisted entirely on fowl cutlets. The first repast despatched, he started on foot for Court, defended from the sun by a white umbrella and portentous pith helmet; and behind him marched a train of orderlies, each carrying a despatch-box full of papers. His sisters were then left to their own resources for the day.

A senseless custom, which is not yet extinct in India, decreed that morning calls should be paid during the hottest hours. When the station gun proclaimed the hour of noon, a procession of male visitors began, which lasted for two hours. The utter inability of Indian servants to render European surnames compelled each caller to herald his entrance by a visiting-card. But as the young men came in groups, identification was fraught with difficulty.

The sisters gave great offence by alluding to subalterns in sepoy regiments as "native officers," and remarked that army doctors always cultivated fiercer moustaches than their combatant comrades, and talked more consequentially about "the Service." At two o'clock the stream dried up automatically, and tiffin was announced. It differed from dinner only because fish, flesh, and sweets appeared simultaneously on the table.

After luncheon most Anglo-Indian ladies used to enjoy a siesta in their bedrooms, but our heroines were too brimful of European energy to adopt so lazy a custom. They read such ancient novels as the station circulating library afforded, perpetrated Mid-Victorian horrors in fancy-work, or strummed on a tuneless piano until 6 p.m., when the servants let in hot blasts from outside by throwing every window open. Afternoon tea had not come into fashion, although it was usual in "upper circles" at home at least a decade earlier. The sisters, therefore, dressed for their evening drive without partaking of the cup that cheers. The Racecourse, with its umbrageous avenues, was a rendezvous for Meerut society between 6.30 and 7.30. A crowd of carriages might have been seen around the bandstand, where waltzes and operatic airs of the previous season were rendered by the musicians of every regiment in turn. Rigid silence prevailed among the company, and Meerut was quite scandalized by the laughter of a bevy of subalterns, whose curiosity impelled them to mild flirtation with the Londoners. At length "God Save the Queen" gave the signal for homeward flight and preparation for dinner.

That meal was a replica of tiffin, except that each course appeared separately. It was consumed in silence, Keith being too exhausted to vouchsafe a remark. Sometimes a *bara khana*, or dinner-party, broke the monotony of existence. The graceful Russian custom of covering the table with fruit and flowers had not penetrated Anglo-India. Gargantuan profusion was the rule, and the

hospitable board groaned under its load of dishes. Some of these culinary efforts must have destroyed what little appetite survived the effects of tropical heat. Miss Eden, who came out to keep house for her brother, Lord Auckland, half a generation earlier, described the loathing excited by a dish of snipe placed before her at some Vice-regal banquet. It was a pyramid of tiny corpses, with their shining skulls symmetrically arranged outside. Carving was more or less deftly performed by the person nearest to a smoking joint. Every guest brought his own servant, and he who came unattended might starve in the midst of plenty. The *khitmatgars* would attend to no one except their particular *sahebs*. They clustered in a crowd round some popular dish, struggling for a portion of it; and another contest raged round the pails wherein champagne reposed in ice, which had been gathered from shallow pans during night-time in the brief cold weather months, and stored in pits for use in the dog days.

At 10.30 the sisters retired to their sleeping chamber, where two beds, draped in mosquito curtains, were as an oasis in a wilderness of Calcutta matting. If no blood-sucking mosquitoes penetrated the meshes of the flimsy enceinte; if no jackal outside broke silence with its blood-curdling yells—they fell into a troubled slumber. It was generally broken by a sense of suffocation, arising from the sudden stoppage of the punkah. The sleeper awoke, bathed in perspiration; and as the peccant punkah coolie was squatting on the veranda outside, she had not the resource of hurling a boot at his head which was open to Anglo-Indians of the sterner sex. The “wee sma’ hours ayont the twal,” sung by Robert Burns are most propitious to sleep in the tropics, for then the thermometer sinks below 100°; but, alas! at 4 a.m. the ayah’s nasal voice aroused her young mistresses from sweet repose.

Sunday came as a welcome break in daily routine. In other stations custom permitted English-folk to enjoy a “Europe morning” on the seventh day by lingering in

bed till breakfast-time. At Meerut attendance at church soon after dawn was obligatory. Every British regiment marched to public worship behind its band, which played the latest waltz, but stopped abruptly at the sacred edifice. The congregation then took their allotted places with a tremendous clatter of swords, and service began. Punkahs waving overhead had a somnolent effect, and allowed worshippers only fitful glances of the pastor in his reading desk or pulpit. Choral singing was unknown, and everyone squalled or bellowed the hymns at his own sweet will. Ritual received a minimum of attention, for the priest's one idea seemed to be to get through the service as quickly as possible. A generation or so earlier the inbred materialism of our race had been mitigated by the saintly Bishop Heber's example; but things of the Spirit were again ignored after his too early death. The clerical establishment was recruited from an inferior class of curates at home, whose utter worldliness simply killed enthusiasm. For instance, a military chaplain was compelled by regulations to visit the hospital once a day. One of these worthies used to drive up to its gate and ask the orderly-sergeant whether his services were needed. That officer invariably shouted, "Any spiritual consolation required to-day?" and when nothing but groans arose from the row of beds within, he reported, "No spiritual consolation is necessary, sir"; whereon the *padri* wended his way to the club for a game of billiards.

The insularity of these little British communities was as marked as their contempt for intellectual pleasures. Each group formed a watertight compartment, rigorously closed to any fellow-creature who showed a trace of the "tar-brush," *anglice* "Indian blood." Half-castes, as they were contemptuously styled, were uniformly treated as pariahs; it is passing strange that the entire Eurasian community should have joined men who heartily despised them in fighting the Mutiny. No echo reached English ears of the dissatisfaction that seethed in the vast Indian population, and was

destined soon to burst into an orgy of fire and blood. Beyond the scope of official duty the only Indians with whom the average European came into contact belonged to the menial class. The servant difficulty was not so acute as in our day, when industrial competition has raised wages by 250 per cent. ; but it existed nevertheless. At remote military stations an offending menial was sent to the barrack-master with a note describing his misdeed, and he might calculate on a severe flogging. This resource was not open to masters or mistresses at Meerut, for the proximity of courts of law exercised a wholesome check on systematic brutality. But complaints of dishonesty were rife, and occasionally followed by personal chastisement of the offender. *Dasturi*, literally "customary" deductions from bills paid by a servant, constituted a serious tax. The butler of a district magistrate was known to have amassed £3,000, though his wages had never exceeded 28s. a month. It must have been the prospect of illicit gains alone that tempted Indians to take service in a European household ; for their position was almost intolerable. Ladies regarded Hindustani as a "frightful jargon," and never mastered more than half a dozen words. If they wanted anything, they stamped angrily, and said, "*Lao!*" (Bring it!) They met excuses by the injunction, "*Jao!*" (Go!) a command which, thanks to the servant's acuteness and his respect for British obstinacy, generally had the desired effect. Yet these despised creatures showed incredible patience in dealing with the spoilt English children who swarmed in every station ; they were the tenderest nurses in illness, and very many of them proved true as steel at a time when their quondam masters were hunted like wild beasts.

It may be urged in excuse for the exiles that the deadly boredom of existence was apt to provoke violent outbursts of temper. Men had the resource of regimental duty or office work ; they could smoke, play billiards, whist, and racquets in a well-appointed club ; the Mess afforded



comparative luxury at small expense. Their wives and sisters had no such relief from the daily round of station life. Europe, and indeed the hill resorts, were almost inaccessible until steam-power attained its full development. Perchance, too, Englishwomen sixty years ago had a stronger sense of duty than their descendants possess. They reared many children on the plains, and clung with wifely devotion to their husbands. It is the fashion to look back with contempt on the Mid-Victorian female, with her narrow outlook on life, her armoury of obsolescent prejudices, her tendency to become a doormat. But we must in common justice credit her with many a countervailing virtue. Mutinyannals recount the exploits of Havelock, of Outram, of Nicholson, and of Hodson; they are wellnigh silent regarding the staunchness, patience, and moral courage evoked by dire misfortune in many a forgotten heroine. God grant that their granddaughters may prove in coming times of stress that they, too, are scions of an imperial race! But woman's power of bearing daily torture was sometimes strained to breaking-point. A poor creature stricken down by deadly fever expressed positive thankfulness on learning that her life was despaired of. The bond of union between wife and husband was, indeed, closer than at home, because they depended on each other for a modicum of happiness. The misfortune was that climate had so enervating an effect that men felt the sorest bereavement less acutely than their home-staying colleagues. A dying wife knew too well that her helpmeet would do his best to replace her within a year after she had been laid in the ghastly station cemetery. It is on record that one of these widowers wooed and won a charming girl within sight of the tomb of his devoted wife!

Convention was the bane of Mid-Victorian society, although most sensible people think that the pendulum has swung too markedly in the opposite direction. Sixty years ago it was deemed improper for ladies to attend an auction. The younger Miss Wallace-Dunlop excited general reprobation

tion by appearing hatless in public after a severe bout of illness. Yet our authoresses, who chafed against the rule of Mrs. Grundy, were themselves her bondservants. They complained bitterly that unmarried girls were allowed to indulge in the wildest pranks—although in sooth the instances given are innocent enough—while matrons, however young, who overstepped the dignity of their status by a hair's-breadth, became the victims of universal censure.

No human being can defy Nature with impunity. The irrational mode of living adopted by the sisters brought its nemesis in the shape of an attack of fever which led the younger one to death's door. There was nothing for it but an immediate flight to the Himalayas; and the little family undertook a toilsome journey by palanquin to distant Landour, a military health-resort perched several hundred feet above gay Mussoorie. After some weeks' sojourn in a glorious climate the roses returned to Rosalind's cheeks, and she was able to accompany her kinsfolk on a hunting expedition among the hills. Of game there was little or none; but the girls greatly enjoyed their long picnic in a tract remote from *soi-disant* civilization. They journeyed back to Meerut with a renewed stock of health.

It became quite a different place during the brief Indian winter. Society was a perpetual whirl of dinner-parties, dances, race meetings, and jackal hunts. A not unwelcome diversion came with the visit of the Bengal Commander-in-Chief. He belonged to the patriarchal brigade. In 1856 the Indian Army List included among Generals in the active list men who had fought the French Revolution and Napoleon; nay, there were Methuselahs whose first commission dated back to 1781! The military magnate who came to inspect Meerut drove into the station in a humble four-wheeled cab, surmounted by his easy-chair and the huge brass washing-basin which then formed an inevitable part of an Anglo-Indian's travelling kit. In honour of his arrival every officer donned

the stiffest of stocks and the most highly-polished of boots; cavalry men practised a newly-imported sword exercise with ferocity; parades of every unit recurred daily, and proceedings terminated with a grand review, which must have reminded the sisters of a famous episode in "Pickwick."

With the advent of the Indian dog-days our heroines resolutely set their faces homewards, causing a feeling akin to dismay in the heart of many a male admirer. Keith attended them during part of the journey, albeit that he grudged every moment spent away from his official docket. At Delhi they were most hospitably received by the British representative at the court of the phantom Emperor; destined so soon to be massacred with the rest of the English population. He little recked his impending fate, although the writing on the wall should have placed him on his guard. Our authoresses were deeply hurt by the rudeness of Delhi shopkeepers. Even while customers were cheapening their wares, these ruffians used most insulting expressions in Hindustani *sotto voce*, compelling the young officer who piloted the visitors to insist on their leaving the shop forthwith. Their impressions find ample corroboration in the narrative of two American tourists who visited Delhi just before the Mutiny.

English folk, however, were, and are, woefully lacking in imagination, which is rarely developed by the education they receive. We have seen that Anglo-India lived in a little humdrum world of its own, ignoring the dark passions that were welling up on every side. Throughout this simple story there is no hint of the anarchy that fell on Upper India less than two months after the authoresses sailed for England—*Absit omen*.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (RETIRED).



## THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

BY SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I.

It is a matter of common knowledge that India has lately gone through a crisis of acute political unrest, but that since the King's visit the situation has materially improved. To many of us this broad fact is enough. But among others there is a desire to know more, and I often find myself asked if I can explain what is the actual position in India at the present moment. Is there any real improvement, and if so, in what directions? My friends are too shrewd to be misled by what they read in the biassed columns of the newspapers, but they have had little or no opportunity of informing themselves of the effect of recent changes on the mind of the people and on the temper of the officials. They have heard more about the building of a new Delhi than of the growth of a national movement, or of the prospects of the development of Provincial Self-Government. They are in need of guidance, and it is in the attempt to help them that I now venture to trespass on your hospitality for a little space.

A few lines only of introduction are called for. Ten years ago, although there were obvious signs of agitation in India, there was nothing in the shape of any overt manifestations of discontent. At the meeting of the National Congress of December, 1904, at which men like

Tilak, Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Pal were delegates, there were no extremists. All were moderates. But there was a sensible wave of irritation throughout the length and breadth of the country against the officializing and reactionary tendencies which had then reached their culmination. In less than twelve months from that date Lord Curzon had retired, and a Liberal Government had come into power. The effect of this change, and in particular the advent of Mr. Morley as Secretary of State for India, was electric. Unrest then found expression in a ferment of expectation and anticipation. Large numbers of educated men felt towards John Morley as a master, and their heart, as Mr. Gokhale declared at the Congress of 1905, "hoped and yet trembled as it had never hoped or trembled before." Above all it was felt in Bengal, where the Partition was such a fresh and rankling sore, that steps would surely be taken which would lead to its reversal or modification.

The political situation at that moment was critical in the extreme. Danger and disorder were threatening on the one hand, peace and contentment were offering themselves for the asking on the other. An administrative triumph might have been achieved with the utmost ease if a Liberal Cabinet could have brought itself to act in India with the sagacity and courage it did not hesitate to display in the settlement of South Africa. But in spite of every warning a golden opportunity was allowed to slip, and at a time when people were in a fever of excitement and on the tenterhooks of hope, all that the Secretary of State could hold out to them in the House of Commons was that the Partition of Bengal was "a settled fact," and that "India should now be allowed to take breath, and we should move very slowly." It was a fatal day when it came to be known that under a Liberal Government there would be no negation of a reactionary policy. While the popular exasperation was daily rising the only idea of the officials in power was to combat it with coercion. Public meetings were forcibly dispersed; a system of espionage was established,

and a racial and religious antagonism between Muhammadans and Hindus was deliberately stirred up. The tide of disorder rolled on from bad to worse. The normal bitterness of feeling between British officials\* and the Indian educated classes was aggravated to breaking point. A general crusade against "sedition" was promoted, in the course of which scores of journalists and literary men were sentenced to long terms of hard labour. Public indignation was provoked beyond endurance, and the old traditional restraint which has always been the characteristic of an orderly and law-abiding people was gradually relaxed. At last the strain gave way in that feeling of resentment which in all lands drives men to acts of passionate despair. Nothing could be more deplorable for India than the sporadic outrages which then ensued. Nothing could be more criminal, more insensate, and more deserving of condemnation and punishment. But there is no other country in the world where similar antecedents would not have been followed by similar consequences.

It is impossible not to feel a pang of regret that we were not spared, as we might have been, the dark days through which India then passed and the measures of repression which were deemed necessary. They have left behind them indelible memories, and their shadow still rests on the Statute Book. But it is not my intention to indulge in any painful retrospect, and I have no wish to dwell on such things now. More gladly do I turn to the process, simple as the waving of a magician's wand, by which the angel of Conciliation at last spread its wings over a fair but distressful country, where for the preceding six years there had been continuous gloom. Never do I remember to have read any official despatches with greater gratification than those which were published on occasion of the King's Durbar at Delhi in December, 1911. They were a rude shock to most of the officials who were gathered there, but they bore to the people of India the ineffable balm of comfort and a signal of hope for which they had so long

been sighing in vain. They announced the abrogation of the Partition of Bengal on the identical lines which had always been urged on the Government. They proclaimed the abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and the creation of a Governorship in Council in its place—a measure which for many years had been advocated by the people of the Province. They announced, almost in the very language of the Indian National Congress, the extension of Provincial Self-Government as the only solution of the problem of the larger employment of Indians in the Public Service. If any justification were required for those who had urged these reforms on Lord Morley in 1906, it is to be found in the memorable State Papers which were laid before Parliament at the close of 1911.

There is no need to exaggerate the results following from this change of policy. The present position of affairs in India, as I shall presently show, still affords sufficient cause for anxiety. And yet the effect produced was immense. Personal considerations played their part in no small measure. The speeches of the King himself were full of sympathy and hope. "I leave you," he said, "a legacy of hope," and nothing could have paved the way better than these gracious words. But if a tribute of honour is due to any man, it should be paid to Lord Hardinge. He had begun his career as Viceroy with the inauguration of a campaign of conciliation and the announcements at the Durbar were the fulfilment of the promise he had already shown. His public utterances, with their simple sincerity and directness, his courage of which we have had dramatic evidence, the vigour and promptitude of his action in respect of the release of the Cawnpore rioters, and his profound sympathy with Indian feeling in regard to South Africa, have since cemented an influence over the imagination of India which has not been equalled by any Viceroy since the time of Ripon. Backbiters there are in the obscure corners of an Anglo-Indian Press, but the

triumphant success of Lord Hardinge's administration no longer admits of discussion. There are three illustrious names which stand out pre-eminently in the long list of Governors-General of India. To be associated with their names will always be the most honourable achievement of their successors. But I am on sure ground when I declare that the memory of Hardinge of Penshurst will endure with that of Ripon, of Canning, and of Bentinck.

At the same time, the character of the Provincial Governors in India has been well sustained. There never were more sympathetic and more Liberal-minded Governors of the great Presidencies than there are at this moment. For this we have reason to be grateful to Lord Crewe, the present Secretary of State. In Bengal there is Lord Carmichael, very tactful and polite and popular, with many of the qualities of his fellow-countryman Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and in all respects justifying in the mind of the people of the province their long-cherished desire for a Governor selected from the roll of British statesmen. Madras and Bombay are not less fortunate. The mellow wisdom and experience of Lord Pentland have found ample opportunities for their exercise in Madras, and Lord Willingdon in Bombay has already succeeded in more than fulfilling the expectation of his many friends. Even in the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors chosen from the ranks of the Civil Service, there is room for congratulation. It could not be expected that they would be able to rid themselves from the defects of their upbringing, but they have at least risen above the level of many of their predecessors and, if I do not deceive myself, Sir James Meston in the United Provinces and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab are—in spite of blunders over which I would draw a veil—very favourable representatives of Civilian rule. There is, at any rate, ample reason for saying that personal considerations have played their part in materially improving the political situation in most provinces in India.

It would have been pleasing if I could indulge in further

similar reflections. But although the Governors of Provinces may do much in moulding policy and setting an example in courtesy and demeanour, it yet remains that they too often prove to be practically helpless in moderating the temper and attitude of the great governing body which in every complex bureaucratic system is immediately responsible for all direct and personal dealing with the people. Single-handed even the best disposed and most energetic among them find that their efforts are paralyzed at every turn. In an appreciable measure that is their own fault. Even so great a Viceroy as Lord Ripon laboured under the defect of not surrounding himself with those whom he knew to be in sympathy with his own views. This is a voluntary handicap to which Liberal statesmen in India seem to be constitutionally liable to subject themselves. A man like Lord Curzon entertained no illusions on this point, and I respect him for it. He had a policy to enforce, and never hesitated to choose his own agents to carry it out. He was right; for if the head of a Government wants to get a thing done as he wishes it, he must employ instruments in whom he can repose implicit confidence. But our Liberal Governors, who are confronted with a stone wall of prejudice, and are in one of the most difficult positions a man can be called upon to fill, are willing to accept as a necessity of the situation the unsympathetic and ordinary Civil Service material they find ready to their hands—the same type of agent, in fact, that Lord Curzon found so useful. But as they have not the same policy in view that Lord Curzon had, it can hardly be expected that they will attain their ends so successfully as Lord Curzon did. And yet the men they need are still available if they would only seek for them. It may not be easy to find them, but they are there, though every day their number is diminishing owing to the discouragement they receive. It is heart-breaking to have to record such discouragement, but it is no exaggeration to say that never does a year pass without the supersession in the Service of able officers whose claims



are overlooked because they have made an honest stand against abuses and blunders, and in favour of fair and just treatment of the people of the country. A dead set is made against such men in the Secretariat and Council Chamber, and their chance is gone. Weak and cranky officers they are called. Not only are their prospects sacrificed to the conscientious discharge of duty, but such treatment is of course grossly detrimental to the public interest. It is not likely to lead to younger men venturing to follow in their steps.

I am compelled to repeat here what I have so often said that the principal and almost insuperable obstacle to the peaceful development of Indian political progress is the existence of a compact governing body of men, all appointed under exceptional terms of tenure of appointment, with special privileges, and highly disciplined and organized, which like every exclusive and privileged corporation is naturally disposed to resent any inroad on its own prerogative. The Indian Civil Service represents a form of administration admirably suited to a government by foreigners which exercises authority on autocratic lines. It was well adapted to the condition of things which prevailed in India when its constitution was devised. It has done a great work in the past; it has lasted long, and its efficiency has been acknowledged a thousand times. But now that the conditions have changed, what then? Who is there so blind as not to see that the constitution of the Service is inherently inapplicable to its present environment of popular representation and a growing sense of nationality, and that it is obviously inconsistent with any scheme for the realization of self-government?

Often and often have I urged upon the members of my old Service to endeavour deliberately to adapt themselves to the altered conditions of the country, and to devote their energies and ability to bridging over the gulf between the old and new, so that it might be traversed with the least disturbance. In vain! There was little or no response to

my appeal in days gone by when I was serving with my comrades, and my utterances were as much in the way of a warning as an appeal. There is less response now than there was then. Is there any man who does not feel that the events of the past few years have injuriously affected the personal relations between the Civil Service and the educated Indian community? How could it be otherwise? Is there more cordiality now than there was? Is there more confidence and intimacy in those relations? Is there now any member of the Civil Service who, when the hour comes of leaving India for good, is sensible of a wrench or a void created in his heart by separation from any Indian whom he has known? Everyone knows that there is not. On the contrary, there is more alienation, a greater sense of distrust on both sides, and an increased bitterness of tone which finds expression alike in public and in private life.

A Royal Commission is now sitting to examine into and report on the Indian Civil Service. The object of the Secretary of State in appointing this Commission appears to have been to obtain suggestions which shall exalt and strengthen the existing constitution of the Service, and if possible rivet it for all time as the form and basis of Indian administration. As though in the midst of all the volume of unrest which is still agitating thought and aspirations it were not useless and even dangerous to bolster up the decaying fabric of a Service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return! The Service representations to the Commission are the most pitiful reading it is possible to imagine, being on the one hand a mass of evidence belittling Indian claims and aspirations, and on the other a mere scramble for higher emoluments and allowances and improved conditions of pension. A lamentable exhibition indeed, and provocative in the last degree of the smouldering antagonism we ought to be straining every nerve to allay.

It is but the literal truth to say that as every forward movement is made in the path of progress—and in spite of



the fact that the Governors of Provinces are well disposed to foster such movements—the mind of this worn-out bureaucracy becomes more and more confirmed in the determination to hold by its old traditions and the memories of a moribund prestige. It is in its power to obstruct almost any measure of reform. A good example of this is to be found in the systematic opposition it has presented to the proposal which has been pressed in India for more than a quarter of a century against the union of judicial and executive functions in the same authority. Sixteen years ago a closely reasoned memorial in support of this reform was addressed to the Secretary of State by the late Lord Hobhouse and many retired Chief Justices and Puisne Judges of the High Courts. It is impossible that there could ever be a more influential protest. It has been “under consideration,” as it is called, ever since, and nothing has been done in the matter because the whole body of the Civil Service has been arrayed in inflexible hostility to any modification of the existing system.

Another illustration, and an even more illuminating one, suggests itself in connection with what are known as the Minto-Morley reforms. I firmly believe that Lord Morley intended that the reorganization of the Legislative Councils in India should be a real reform. But Parliamentary legislation on the subject was a mere skeleton, and it was left to rules and regulations framed in India to clothe it with flesh and blood. What followed? The rules were framed, and their effect is to sterilize the good intentions with which the scheme for the enlargement of the Councils had been originally devised. The electorate is not widened and the choice of the electors is narrowed. An arbitrary power has been reserved to veto the eligibility of candidates, and this has been exercised in a manner which the Government of twenty years ago would not have dared to emulate. An attempt has been made to drive in a wedge between Muhammadans and Hindus by giving to the former electoral privileges which are denied to the latter. Complaint

is rife that the powers of the unofficial members are reduced to a sham, and the shout of jubilation with which the new Councils were first welcomed has given way to disappointment. If success is acknowledged anywhere it is in the Provincial Councils, but for the Legislative Council of the Government of India you will hardly find that a good word is ever said. So potent is the sinister influence of a bureaucracy on the spot.

Is it wonderful that there should still be unrest? Who indeed would expect anything else? There are a thousand causes combining to provoke and irritate. There is a growing bitterness of race feeling. Men who speak English as well as most Englishmen, who correspond with scholars in Europe, who edit newspapers in English, who hold high judicial office, who transact commercial business on an extensive scale, are still treated in their own country as an inferior breed. The attitude of the self-governing colonies towards India is a well-known source of profound heart-burning and deep resentment. The rigorous operation of repressive laws, such as the Press Act and the Arms Act, the harsh treatment of political prisoners, the unequal administration of justice in cases between Englishmen and Indians, the espionage of the police and arbitrary house-searches, the general severity of judicial sentences—one and all are a permanent battery of pin-pricks on the rising spirit of a highly sensitive people.

At the same time education is spreading, and its fruits are everywhere apparent. The real political problem in India is the growth of an Indian Nation. There is now a small party of Indian Nationalists who despair of constitutional agitation, and openly advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. These are known as extremists, and are for the most part young and hot-headed fanatics who will stick at nothing in methods of crime and violence! A grossly exaggerated impression of their importance is conveyed by telegrams from India, and by comments thereon

in the Press. The truth is that they are a microscopic, obscure, and hole-and-corner minority of irreconcilables. So far as they go, they are a dangerous class; but they receive no encouragement from their fellow-countrymen, who are indeed the principal sufferers at their hands. In complete detachment from these men are the recognized leaders of the national movement. They are not affected by any symptoms of alienation from the British Government. Their ideal is not separation from Great Britain. They desire to obtain self-government, and the detailed management of their own affairs. Their ideal is that India may ultimately be placed in a position corresponding to that of the self-governing colonies of the Empire. That is the ideal which they hold before them, knowing well that it can only be realized gradually and cautiously, and as the result of time and experience.

Two notable factors are working in this direction. First of all there is the despatch of Lord Hardinge, already referred to. Starting with the proposition that "the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be conceded," it goes on to say that "the only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." This declaration has given a lively impetus to the natural movement in favour of provincial self-government, or, in other words, the federation of the United States of India, which was the inspired vision, though seen darkly, of John Bright. It is now seen face to face, and nothing is more remarkable in the present political situation than the tendency towards provincial nationalism in every province. The ambition of public men is rather to sit in their own Provincial than in the

Imperial Legislative Council, and Provincial Conferences are the most popular feature in modern public life.

Of even greater importance than this movement is the cementing of the friendly relations between the two great communities of the Indian people. There is no sign in the history of the past three years more encouraging, and fraught with benefit to the future of India, than the growing union and identification of interests of Hindus and Muhammadans. The All-India Moslem League has formally intimated its adhesion to the fundamental programme of Congress reformers, and concerted co-operation is now the key-note of Muhammadan and Hindu gatherings alike. This is the direct result of education. Unity of ideas is due to uniformity of training, and the ideal which was present to Sir Syed Ahmed's mind when he founded the Allyghur College—but then was incapable of realization—is at last attained. Mutual trust, a desire for the achievement of common ends and objects, nationalism and self-government—these are the inspiration of the rising generation not less of Muhammadans than of Hindus.

And so I may close these remarks on a note of hope. Whatever cause for anxiety there may be in the present, and there is cause in plenty, there is also a brighter side on which it is pleasanter to dwell, and prospects of a happier future, which those who like myself are admitted only to the Pisgah of a promised land may not live to see. But some day assuredly, and that day is perhaps not so far distant as many of us would persuade ourselves to believe, the legitimate aspirations and patriotic tendencies of India will reveal themselves to us as a stern reality, and no longer as an ideal only or a visionary's dream.

## INDIA, CANADA, AND THE EMPIRE

BY SIR ROLAND WILSON

"Free peoples have a right to say whom they will admit into their country, just as free men have a right to say whom they will admit into their house."—*Times*, June 4, 1914.

THIS pronouncement of the leading journal reproduces in epigrammatic form the pith of a letter addressed to the same paper some months earlier by Sir West Ridgeway, and as it seems likely in its turn to evoke many echoes, it is perhaps time to ask ourselves what it means.

First, what is meant by "free peoples" and "free men"? The same adjective, used twice in the same sentence, ought to mean the same thing in both places. Does it?

No man living in society is absolutely free from constraint by other human wills ; but we commonly call a man free who is subject to no greater constraint than the bulk of his fellow-men, and we include in the rights of an ordinary citizen the right to build, purchase, or otherwise acquire, a dwelling-place, from which he may exclude at his pleasure everyone except those whom he is bound by law to maintain, and duly authorized officers of justice.

So far all is plain sailing. The trouble begins when we attempt to assign anything like the same meaning to the epithet "free" when prefixed to "peoples," which must in this connection mean "governments." The essence of government being constraint, the only sense in which we

can speak of a "free government" is that of a government which is not controlled, in the exercise of its powers of constraint, by any other government, or which is subject to less control of that kind than some other governments with which it is compared. For the freedom of governments, like the freedom of individuals, is a question of degree. The most powerful government in the world, (whichever that may be), is not entirely free from constraint on the part of other governments; whether we look to the material force that might be brought to bear on it in certain contingencies, or to the moral restraint of the recognized principles of International Law. We speak of a government as "independent," or "sovereign," when it habitually recognizes no other restraints than the last-mentioned; and if the term "free" is to be used at all in this connection (where it is rather unusual and not particularly apt), it is to governments of this class that it is primarily applicable. When it is applied to such a government as that of Canada, professedly a member of a larger organization, in which it counts numerically for only about one-fiftieth of the whole, the proper equivalent of "free," translated from the language of poetry and rhetoric into that of Blue-books, is not "independent," or "sovereign," but "autonomous"—a modern term of designedly vague signification, intended to negative independence, but to affirm some larger measure of freedom from external control than belongs to the component parts of a thoroughly unified State. Hence, the inclusion of Canada in the category of "free peoples" raises the question whether the autonomy conceded to that "Dominion" by the Imperial Parliament (which may be taken to be the same as that conceded to the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa) includes the right to impose whatever restrictions it thinks proper on immigration from other countries or from other parts of the British Empire, without reference to the wishes of the Imperial Government.



Formally the answer to this question is *No*, the right of veto on all colonial legislation being expressly reserved.

Practically, so far as practice has gone at present, the answer is *Yes*.

When the first trouble arose, some time before the Boer War, about the treatment of ex-indentured Indians in Natal, that Government was in a far weaker position than either Canada or South Africa is now; yet the reply of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then at the head of the Colonial Office, to a deputation calling upon him to see the Indians righted, was, "What do you wish me to do? Do you expect me to send an army to coerce the Natal Government?"; implying that his veto was useless unless it was to be so enforced, and that this was out of the question. And accordingly the grievances remained unredressed to this day, in defiance of both English and Indian public opinion.

We shall return to this subject presently, but, before doing so, something has to be said on a yet wider question, suggested by another ambiguity in the *Times* formula, as to the right of even fully sovereign States to pursue a policy of exclusion.

Supposing the Canadian Government to be "free" in the sense of being practically independent, or supposing, on the other hand, that it is *we*, as represented by the Imperial Government, who are the "free people" for this purpose, what ground is there either way for the assertion that "free peoples," or independent governments, have the same right to say whom they will admit into their country that a private person has with respect to his house?

The so-called "possessive" pronoun is a particularly tricky part of speech, being used to denote the most various relations, of which some are, and some are not, possessive. For instance, it is a commonplace of demagogic oratory to denounce the rich Mr. So-and-so because *his* horses and *his* dogs are better cared for than *his* labourers, ignoring the fact that the animals are *his* property whereas the labourer is not. And so here there are sound

ethical reasons why the law should recognize, to the extent above defined, a man's exclusive possession of the house which he has built, bought, or otherwise lawfully acquired, which reasons would by no means support the claim of any people, however "free," to own what they call "*their* country" in the sense in which Smith owns *his* No. 5, John Street, or Paradise Villa. Just as no civilized legislature will ever again tolerate the pretensions of private landowners to enclose half a county and warn off trespassers, so international public opinion, which is slowly groping its way in a purblind, haphazard fashion towards assimilation of the mutual obligations of States to those already enforced between individuals by national law, looks already with just disfavour on attempts to restrict freedom of migration from the more to the less crowded portions of the globe. If this is not clearly recognized as a principle, it is because strong and well-ordered governments have not till lately been much tempted to offend in this way, and are difficult subjects to bring to justice when they do offend ; while, on the other hand, the governments that are weak enough to be coerced, and yet possessed of large, sparsely-populated territory, are generally also bad governments, and their badness rather than their exclusiveness is made the pretext for foreign aggression and exploitation.

Down to quite recent times it was generally the policy of the stronger and better-ordered States to welcome immigrants of all kinds, regardless whether they were superior, equal, or inferior to the average of the old inhabitants. If equal or superior, like the French Huguenots, to whom England owes so much, they would be welcomed as adding to the material and moral strength of the nation ; if inferior, so long as the direction of affairs lay with the classes rather than with the masses, they would be welcomed by the captains of industry as augmenting the supply of cheap labour. But with the growth of democracy in politics and trade unionism in industry, a new complication was introduced, which affected England only to a

slight extent, but the North American Continent and Australasia very seriously. The manual workers began to grasp the truth that one way of raising the wages of labour was to limit the supply, while insufficiently attending to the other truth, that scarcity of labour means diminished production, and therefore a diminished wage-fund; and when they found that their competitors were not of their own race, colour or religion, they were restrained by no sentiment of brotherhood from resenting to the utmost the intrusion of this new species of blackleg along the Pacific seaboard and in the cities and mining centres of Australia.

Other currents of sentiment have worked in the same direction; and the result is that we are now confronted in all our non-tropical oversea Dominions with a demand that every region in which men of European origin can live and work in comfort shall be preserved as a "white man's country."

This would be a tremendous resolve if the peoples who make it were taking upon themselves the entire risk and preparing to defend it with their own forces. But when they do so as constituent members of an Empire which is Asiatic as to three-fourths of its population, and to which it is of the utmost importance to maintain amicable relations with the other Asiatic peoples against whom these measures are directed, it is the Imperial Government that has the greatest cause for anxiety. We of the Mother-country are being told in effect:

1. That we must hold ourselves in readiness to fight China or Japan, or both together, should those Powers take it into their heads to give practical expression to their resentment at the inhospitable treatment of their nationals in Canada or Australia. Even if the mere knowledge that our whole strength is pledged to the backing of these exclusionists should suffice to prevent actual fighting, that same knowledge cannot fail to impair our good name and influence in the Far East, and to place us at a disadvantage in European politics.

2. That we must confess to our Asiatic subjects our inability to secure for them freedom of settlement and equal treatment before the law in the more healthy and thinly populated parts of what we have taught them to call our Empire.

In the particular case of Canada there is this further aggravation, that His Majesty's Asiatic subjects are not even placed on a level with other Asiatics. They complain that, whereas there is a special arrangement with Japan that immigrants from that country are to be admitted up to the limit of 400 annually, and whereas Chinese are admitted without any other check than a poll-tax of 500 dollars, the avowed intention is, or was, to keep out Indian-British subjects altogether. This was evidently the object of the otherwise senseless regulation (now declared invalid) that no immigrant should be admitted at the ports who had not come by a continuous sea voyage from his place of domicile—a condition which it would be easy for Chinese and Japanese, but wellnigh impossible for Indians, to satisfy. Baffled at this point by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the Province, the local authorities are for the moment taking their stand on a more recent Order in Council, absolutely prohibiting the entry of all artisans and labourers; which Order would in due course have expired before the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, but which was renewed till the end of September, while the vessel was *en route*, expressly to meet this case, and to enable the Premier of the Dominion to assert with literal accuracy that there was no discrimination against Hindus. In practice the discrimination is complete, because European artisans and labourers do not want to come via the Pacific. At the time of writing it had not transpired how many of these Hindus—who had come with the avowed purpose of testing the efficacy of whatever barriers might be set up—would be excluded by the definition; but if this device proves inadequate some other will doubtless be invented.

Meanwhile the Hindus already in British Columbia have

found an able and earnest spokesman of their own race, Dr. Sunder Singh, who has started at Victoria a paper called the *Sansar*—whether weekly or monthly does not appear from the single copy that has reached me. It is addressed alike to the Europeans of the Province and to the Indian public at home, who will doubtless have learnt by this time through many other channels, and in more inflammatory language than that of this simple-minded enthusiast, the story of yet one more of their masters' doors being "banged, barred and bolted" in the face of their countrymen.

Will this quarrel be patched up under friendly pressure from the Home Government, as that between India and South Africa seems now in fair way of being? Hardly, if the description given by the *Times* correspondent of the state of Canadian opinion is anywhere near the truth. But if not, what then?

It may be inferred from the sentence quoted at the head of this article that the *Times* would recommend simple acquiescence. The Canadians are a free people; the whole country from sea to sea, and from the United States frontier to the North Pole, is their country, and it is for them to say whom they will admit into it.

That is all very well; but, unfortunately, it is for the present our country in respect of international responsibility. It is our Foreign Office that has to defend the Canadian position in the field of diplomacy where foreign immigrants are concerned, and it is our India Office that has to satisfy the people of India that they are, at all events, not worse treated than the foreigner. And if the Canadian arguments are such as we cannot employ without loss of self-respect, or without injury to the self-respect of those to whom we address them, what are we to do?

For that is the actual situation. How, without condemning the very process by which we ourselves colonized America, can we maintain that occupation to the extent of two inhabitants to the square mile gives the occupants a



right to keep for themselves, and for those whom for some reason they may choose to favour, all the profits that are capable of being made out of something like one-fifteenth of the land-surface of the globe? The only right that first occupancy really confers is that of framing any reasonable regulations for the government of the country and development of its resources, which regulations all new-comers are bound to respect until they are very sure that they can improve them, and of levying such taxes as will defray expenses and fairly remunerate them for their trouble. This will no doubt justify them in excluding *individuals* whose condition or record may render them intrinsically "undesirable," but cannot justify discrimination against *whole races and classes*—least of all on the ground that they are able and willing to do more work for less pay than the first-comers. That may be inconvenient for rivals in the same trade, but is clear gain to the community as a whole—while it lasts; it is not, however, likely to last long after it is discovered that higher wages are obtainable and that a higher standard of living is expected. The objection set up in some quarters, that the climate and the work required are unsuited to Hindus, at once supplies an answer to the other objection, that they are likely to swarm over in inconvenient numbers. If the fact is so, it has only to be made known in order to stop the influx.

Are we to tell sturdy Sikhs from the Punjab, who have served with credit under British officers, tilled their own lands and managed their local affairs under a legal system quite as advanced as that of England or Canada, that they are less assimilable, less fit for Canadian citizenship than Dukhobors from Russia or Ruthenians from Galicia? Canadians may take this line on their own responsibility, and on the strength of such information as they imagine themselves to possess but surely not the Imperial Government.

If such action supported by such arguments is persisted in by our autonomous kinsfolk on either side of the globe,



I must confess that I see but one way in which we British taxpayers and electors can honourably extricate ourselves from a very awkward and humiliating situation, and do justice to our own insular and Imperial interests, as well as to our democratic and humanitarian sentiments. It is that we should abdicate, without precipitancy but without undue delay, that nominal supremacy which renders us formally responsible in the eyes of our Asiatic subjects, and of other Asiatic Powers, for measures which we cannot approve, yet cannot effectually veto, and which is even more offensive to their self-respect than injurious to their economic interests. If I do not add South Africa to the list, it is only because the Union Government is at the present moment recommending to its Parliament what are, from its point of view, very considerable concessions, however inadequate from ours, and displaying a conciliatory disposition which it would be a pity to discourage. Should that Bill fail after all to become law, we shall be back where we were six months ago, and I for one shall be disposed to advocate amicable separation in that case also.

My allotted space being exhausted, I can only indicate, without developing, my reasons for thinking that we stand to gain rather than to lose by severing the slender political bond which unites us with these vigorous young nations from the moment that it ceases to be based on a substantial unity of sentiment.

1. We should be a greater and more beneficent force in world-politics if unhampered by conflicting aims.

2. We should be better able to watch over the development of India and the Crown Colonies.

3. Our quondam dependencies would be more likely to come round in the end to our point of view after some experience in trying to maintain their exclusionist policy on their own resources as independent States.

4. There would be one sham less in the world to confuse and demoralize us.

## THE LATE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF JAPAN

BY C. M. SALWEY

"Add a royal number to the Dead."

THE people of Japan have again been called on to bear a great national sorrow, and the passing of Haruko, Dowager Empress, widow of H.I.M. the late Meiji Tennō, is a loss that will be felt by millions of loyal people.

Her late Majesty was born on May 29, 1850. She was the daughter of Ichijo Yakada, a noble of the highest rank, head of one of the five families from whom an Empress is always chosen. The first nineteen years of her life were spent more or less in seclusion, after the manner and custom of the times. In the year 1869 she became the honoured Consort of the then new Emperor, whose title during the early days of his reign was that of Mutsu Hito, since changed to Meiji Tennō. The marriage was solemnized shortly after his ascension to the Throne of Japan in 1868. The ceremony was held within the Temple of the Palace on December 28, according to the Shinto rites. Haruko was declared Empress on the day of her marriage with the Emperor, who had been crowned at Kyoto on October 31 of the same year.

After her marriage she became imbued with the spirit of the times. She did not hesitate to accept the new régime. Western ideals and advanced civilization claimed her attention, especially the emancipation of Japanese women from

their close confinement to home life. To grant greater freedom was a subject of vital interest to Her Majesty. In this she shared the sentiments of the Emperor, whose admirable speech, pregnant with hope and desire that a thorough education should be placed within the reach of all classes, proved a lasting benefit to his subjects. The new Emperor, unlike his predecessors, advocated more liberty of action. His manifesto on education embodied a more complete and classical education for the aristocracy, and a measure of tuition for all classes. The nobles of the land were encouraged to not only benefit themselves by their journeys to foreign countries for the acquisition of European culture, but whenever possible to be accompanied by their wives and sisters, in order that the status of women might thereby be raised and benefited. It must be borne in mind that in previous centuries the education of women, particularly of those of high degree, was prosecuted at home; the classical literature issued from time to time was supposed to contain sufficient knowledge to meet their needs. Of this literature the "*Makura-no Sōshi*" and the "*Genji Monogatari*" are the two greatest works, and the widest known for containing the necessary instruction as to the behaviour of women under all circumstances, within their homes, towards their parents, their husbands, and all in authority. The "*Genji Monogatari*," a voluminous work of fifty-four volumes, was regarded not only as instructive but as a work of genius, beautiful in style, poetical in composition, as well as of unflagging interest. This work has more or less influenced, and we may almost say guided and moulded, the lives of the Japanese for centuries.

Although a new system of education was promulgated throughout the country as early as 1872, the organization was of necessity slow in its development. The Emperor's rescript, issued on September 14, 1871, aroused enthusiasm for this commendable step, but it was not until 1877 that a girls' department was opened in the Peers' School for the daughters of the aristocracy. In 1885, by order of Em-

press Haruko, the Peeresses' School was established under her illustrious patronage. Every encouragement and facility was offered to those who availed themselves of the higher teaching. Moral culture and physical deportment were both placed before the students, together with an expansion of curriculum in view of placing the women of Japan on an equality with those of the West.

The Empress also showed great interest in the artistic and delicate accomplishments practised in the land prior to the Restoration—lace-making, embroidery, the preparation of silk, even the rearing of the silkworm, the arranging of flowers in symbolic grouping, the etiquette of *Cha-no-yu*, or the tea ceremony; of *Kō Awase*, or incense parties. Fan games, archery, and many other graceful pastimes were, under her patronage, brought to perfection by the ladies of her Court. The Empress had great talents; she was a lady of tact and cleverness, possessing noble characteristics, with a winning manner and a most charming personality. She was the central figure of an active circle, while, according to the standard of beauty among her people, there was great daintiness in her queenly demeanour. Her face was that perfect oval so much admired by Orientals, her features small, her dark oblique eyes full of a kindly expression, a figure not too slender in youth, but comely in mature life. She moved among her Court and her people, and drew them to her by her sympathetic nature and the growing interest she felt for them, which was as new as it was delightful for a crowned head to express.

An amusing incident is recorded in connection with the sanctity that surrounded the royalty of Japan. When Her Majesty decided to adopt Western dress, tradition forbade ordinary hands to touch the sacred personage, and the costumier was at a loss how to complete the task satisfactorily. It is recorded that Princess Ito came to the rescue, and acted as a model until a perfect robe for Her Majesty was completed, after repeated readjustment. But great as was the sentiment of sanctity concerning the Empress, it was many

degrees below that felt for the Emperor, for until the etiquette of the Court underwent modification Emperor and Empress were never seen in public together. Even when travelling in processions, the palanquin, or royal *norimono*, were arranged to progress at a stated interval, apart. A day eventually dawned in which this ancient custom was set aside, and a crowd of loyal citizens beheld with awe and wonder the Emperor and his Consort sitting side by side, the gracious lady smiling on her people and accepting their homage. This amazing concession from past rules necessitated the introduction of Western methods of conveyance. A handsome equipage drawn by horses superseded the ancient closely curtained *norimono* held high on the palms of bearers, in which the Sovereign of Divine descent had hitherto in solitary state proceeded on all journeys.

Although His Imperial Majesty seldom permitted his people to look upon his face, or his sacred person, Empress Haruko went among her people and her poor. She visited the schools and the hospitals, and moved among her invited guests at the spring and autumn flower festivals. She also took part in the more modern forms of recreation, and was highly interested in physical culture. Her life was full of arduous duties, self-imposed in times of war as well as of peace. It was but rarely she could find the opportunity to indulge her poetic faculty, and compose those sweet and exquisite *Tanka* (short verses of thirty-two syllables) that will ever claim for her a high place among the authoresses of her land. Occasionally these poems find their way to us in printed form. A collection of some written by the late Emperor has been made by Mr. Saito, entitled "A Voice out of the Serene," but these are for private circulation only. In them we find the Royal 'Master Singer' of Japan declaring his affection and sympathy for his people in poetic language, beautifully expressed, together with his admiration of nature—of stream and mountain, flower and bird—as well as his horror of war and love of

peace. When we read these poetic epigrams, we can readily understand that the young and intellectual Princess Haruko was chosen to fill the exalted position of Royal Consort on account of her ability as a poetess and the fine classic style of her composition.

During the last illness of His Imperial Majesty the Empress shone in the capacity of nurse and guardian, being in constant attendance in the sick chamber, denying herself both food and sleep, and only dividing her attentions when pressing State business demanded her presence.

Although the Empress bore no heir to the throne, the Emperor's family of many Princes and Princesses were delivered into her special care. The royal nurseries were ruled by her counsel and her love. She was instrumental in sending five of the young Princes to be educated in foreign countries. The present reigning Sovereign of Japan, His Imperial Majesty Yoshihito Haru-no-miya, is the third son of the late Emperor. The Dowager Empress was taken ill in the Palace at Numadzu, situated about eighty-six miles from Tokyō. Heart failure hastened the end. During her illness she was visited by their Imperial Majesties of Japan and members of the Imperial Household. Being a strict form of etiquette that Royalty should die in the capital, it was not officially announced that the Dowager Empress had ceased to breathe until the cortège containing her earthly remains had passed into the royal city. Therefore, not at funeral pace, but by ordinary State progress, surrounded by a military escort, her residence was reached. A ceremony followed of a solemn nature, one and all of her retinue and household being admitted to pay the formulated welcome offered to a yet living and beloved Empress. The official announcement of her decease was given shortly after this *triste* ordeal. At ten minutes past two o'clock in the morning of April 11 the nation learned the news of the loss they had sustained. The foreign Press was, as soon as possible, acquainted with this sad event. The Dowager-Empress Haruko was



greatly beloved by her lord. Notwithstanding the fact that she bore him no children, their union was extremely happy. It is known that she was held in high esteem, and that the Emperor constantly sought her co-operation and advice in matters of great concern. Her practical wisdom, virtue, and noble example will ever endear her to her subjects as a Great Empress, a devoted wife, and a shining light of the new-born Land. Her love of art, literature, culture, and all things beautiful, her unselfishness in rising to the emergency of rapid changes in Court and Constitution, her sympathy during distressing events, together with the queenly influence that was ever sustained during the illustrious era of enlightenment, leave on the minds of those who remain to mourn her loss a blameless and beautiful pattern to emulate.

## POLITICS AND BRITISH TRADE IN THE NEAR EAST

BY CAPTAIN DIXON JOHNSON

WRITERS in the financial Press, and experienced speakers at the public meeting of city men which was called by the Ottoman Association last February, have emphasized how worldwide was the financial disturbance resulting from the Balkan War. It would be absurd to pretend that the effect on commerce has been on anything like the same scale. It may, however, be permissible to trace some connection between the general slackness of trade, for instance, in the South American Republics and the loss of credit which these States were the first to experience as the result of the unsettled conditions in Europe.

Unfortunately, however, there can be no doubt that British trade with the Near East has been seriously affected by the results of the Balkan War. Business firms find that by the transference of Turkey's European possessions to the Balkan States they have been deprived of the market of a very good customer. A merchant formerly doing a large trade with Salonika has recently returned, and has bitterly complained to the writer of the present condition of affairs in that once prosperous port.

The importance of Salonika as a market for British industries previous to the Balkan War may be judged from the fact that in 1911 the value of British exports into that port totalled nearly £1,000,000, and exceeded the value of those of any other nation. Now all this is changed, and

the value of these imports threatens to depreciate to one-third of the former figure.

The policy of the Greek Government seems to be simply to collect immediately as large a sum as possible in duties without any consideration for the health of the proverbial fowl. Tariffs have been greatly increased all round now, in sharp contrast with the universal duty of 11 per cent. previously levied by the Turkish Government. It does, indeed, seem an anachronism that a Greek Government should be allowed to raise its tariff when and how it likes, whereas in the very same port, and but a few months previously, the Turkish Government could only do so after first obtaining the individual consent of the European Powers. This consent, in the majority of cases, could only be purchased after considerable delay and bargaining, by the granting of important and valuable political or commercial concessions in other parts of the Empire. As an instance of trade injustice the *ad valorem* duty of 11 per cent. was increased to 15 per cent. without any warning to importers, and the increased duty was actually levied on goods already landed and lying in the warehouses. Continuity in trade relations is as important as continuity in foreign policy, and unexpected action like this can only have the most disturbing results. Hitherto British goods have always been preferred and have commanded the market. Now, however, the peasants and dwellers in the small towns and villages of the interior complain of the enhanced prices, and must, in consequence, limit the quantity they buy, or purchase inferior goods of other manufacture at the same price at which they were once contented to buy British commodities.

Imports at Salonika intended for the larger hinterland of Macedonia and Albania, now in the occupation of Servia, suffer to an even worse degree on account of the still higher tariff barrier imposed at the frontier. The Servian Government, rather than encourage freights of goods landed at Salonika along the Greek railways, throws every obstacle

in the way, and prefers that home-manufactured or foreign goods should be carried on her own state railways. As Servia has no port of her own, and she has deliberately discouraged all imports through Salonika, British goods which were formerly shipped through this port are now being replaced by goods from the countries of Central Europe, to the serious detriment of the trade of this country. Even Greek merchants complain of the present state of affairs, and express a wish for the return of Turkish rule and the former prosperity. Long-established Jewish firms are leaving the port in disgust, not only on account of the general slackness of trade, but also because they cannot accustom themselves to the methods or manners of the present officials of the port. They prefer to remove to areas where once again they can carry on their business under Turkish officials who always treated them with politeness and transacted their affairs in as smooth and as easy a manner as possible, if for no better reason, because it saved trouble. On the contrary, the present officials, when not occupied in swaggering about in their brand-new uniforms, and discussing politics and the glories of the Greek victories in the cafés, are for ever worrying and harrying the unfortunate traders. Another reason for the general exodus should be treated with considerable delicacy, and rather than risk incurring a charge of partiality or antipathy, the writer has preferred to quote the words of that great philhellene Lord Byron: "In all money transactions with the Moslems I ever found the strictest honour, the highest disinterestedness. In transacting business with them there are none of those dirty speculations, under the name of interest, difference of exchange, commission, etc., etc., uniformly found in applying to a Greek Consul to cash bills, even on the first houses in Pera."

Recently Mr. Venizelos's attention was called to a long and careful article in one of the local newspapers on the present lamentable condition of the port of Salonika. The Premier immediately wrote and thanked the editor for his

exposure, and assured him that the matter would receive his most urgent attention. Mr. Venizelos, however, at the present time has his hands full, and with all his astuteness it is doubtful, considering the complexity of the situation, whether even *he* could find a remedy. Any serious attempt to do so would earn for him the bitter enmity of the merchants of the Piræus, whose policy until now has been to keep Greece a one-port country, and after all he may doubt whether it is to the advantage of his country that he should jeopardize his own position, already shaken on account of the Epirus problem, in order to benefit the Turcophile merchants of Salonika. Tariffs and other disabilities must equally discourage British commerce in the islands of Chios and Mitylene as they have done in Macedonia. Formerly the trading houses of Smyrna received delivery of the British goods, and redistributed them to these islands. This convenient arrangement is no longer possible, and British firms are now compelled to ship direct to the islands or to tranship their goods at Smyrna or Piræus, a process which entails risk of damage, delay, and extra cost. They can no longer do their business through the reputable firms long established in Smyrna, and rather than entrust their goods to small Levantine traders may possibly prefer to abandon this trade entirely.

The Balkan War has resulted in loss to British commerce in the Near East, but the loss is insignificant in comparison to what it would be should the enemies of Turkey succeed in dividing up her Asiatic Provinces. In 1911 the exports from Great Britain were £5,844,000, with actually only £89,000 from other countries. It would as surely cripple our trade with that port as it has with Salonika. Should Greece occupy Smyrna or any part of the Asiatic littoral, Russia would sooner or later take her share of the hinterland. The annual export of cotton piece-goods alone from this country to the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey has during the last three years averaged annually £3,679,656. Once these, or a portion of these, Provinces, was occupied

by Russia, a prohibitive tariff in favour of her own subsidized cotton factories would involve a serious diminution in the exports from this country; on the other hand, once the country became more peaceful and prosperous under the present rule, the potentialities of British trade would be enormously increased. In estimating what the loss in this one item alone of our trade would be, it is of interest to note that recently the "Golos Moskwi" boasted that, thanks to the Anglo-Russian agreement, which handed over Northern Persia to Russia, the Russian exports of cotton and cloth goods which in 1908-1909 averaged only 20 per cent. of the whole into Persia, increased last year to 80 per cent. The "Golos Moskwi," as the "Near East," adds, praises the Anglo-Russian Entente, but does Lancashire? Yet, not content with this enormous increase, the Duma, on June 9, adopted a motion calling upon the Russian Government to further develop the imports into Persia by the creation of special export bounties. British engineering, skill, and perseverance, has made it possible for the Euphrates Valley to produce the very finest cotton, and to once again become one of the most important granaries of the world. No highly protected country should ever be allowed to deprive British commerce from sharing the fruits of British and Turkish enterprise.

Chambers of Commerce might with advantage urge upon the Government the importance which the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey possesses for British trade, and might even hint that if the present policy of *Ententes* means the further loss of other free and open markets, it might be advisable to look round for some less one-sided friendships.

Parliament on June 17 sanctioned the investment of £2,200,000 from the consolidated fund in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The British Government thus itself becomes the predominant partner in a commercial enterprise in the Near East in which a large amount of British capital was



already invested. The recent anxiety felt for the safety of the Mexican oilfields at Tampico, although they are actually on the coast and under the protection of the guns of an International squadron, shows how easily oilwells can be destroyed by fire or water. Instead of being on the coast the Anglo-Persian oilfield is connected with the sea by a pipe-line 150 miles long which passes through a difficult and mountainous country inhabited by an independent and turbulent population. The destruction of this great Imperial undertaking would not affect the national safety, but it would certainly involve a very heavy financial loss and would seriously damage the prestige which is so important to commercial enterprise.

The oilfield is actually open to attack from all sides, by Russian Cossacks from the north, by the Turkish army corps at Baghdad, and the neighbouring province from the west, by the Muntefik Arabs from the south, and by the surrounding turbulent and powerful Baktiari tribesmen. Our present relations with Russia may be of the best, but a wise diplomacy does not neglect to provide against the unexpected dangers of the future. In contrast to Russia, Turkey has long abandoned a forward policy of adventure, and in Asia only desires to live in peace and to maintain the integrity of her present Empire. British support of Turkey on the questions of the Near East would do much to assure the friendship of the Moslem Baktiari tribesmen and Muntefik Arabs, and would save the danger and the expense of maintaining a garrison from India, which can ill be spared, to prevent sudden destruction by even a small party of raiders. The knowledge that a friendly Turkish army corps was within striking distance and able to render assistance would be of infinite advantage should this country be involved in complications with one or more European Powers.

## A FOOTNOTE TO THE BALKAN WAR

BY JOHN MAVROGORDATO

INDIGNATION is not always a happy inspirer of argument, or even of eloquence. It so often produces only hysterical exaggeration, which, once detected, fills the reader with a general distrust of everything that proceeds from the indignant pen. It is to me a continual wonder that Balkan propagandists do not realize how much their writings would gain if they could persuade themselves to put off that virulence, which is even less attractive than indignation.

One has only to pick up any article or any book dealing with Balkan affairs, and apply to it one simple test: Read first that part dealing with some place or incident of which you have personal knowledge. If you find, as you invariably will, not necessarily a lie, but an apparently wilful inaccuracy, or a cold-blooded exaggeration, or an omission, or a thick-headedness which amounts to criminal negligence, you must compel yourself to disregard the whole of that writer's testimony. It is the only safe way of dealing with books about Balkan questions.\* There seems to be an intoxication in the air of that lovely peninsula. Ever since the destruction of her image on the Acropolis, the bright Goddess of Truth seems to have cursed her worshippers

\* It would be too much to expect people to deal thus with every column of their newspapers. If they did, we might all wreath ourselves with myrtle, to celebrate our deliverance from the ugly tyranny of the Press.

(of whom not the least devout, in other days, came out of Macedonia), causing them to wander into all manner of damnable heresies, and to follow the false preachers of devilish fetishes and strange taboos.

Let me give two instances of the weary scepticism produced in me by even a limited knowledge of Balkan affairs. There recently appeared in the Press a story to the effect that the bodies of two hundred Muhammadan Albanians had been found crucified in the charred ruins of a church in Northern Epirus. Variations of this story were widely circulated, having, of course, whatever their origin, an overpowering attraction for the evening papers. It was not a very good advertisement for the cause of the Epirote insurgents. I did not pay much attention to the story, because I knew by experience that reliable information about Epirus did not usually arrive, by way of Vienna, from Durazzo. But in the story itself there was internal evidence of its falsity. Christian Epirotes, if they had ever wanted to burn the bodies of Muhammadan Albanians, would not have burned them in one of their own churches, but in a mosque. And it would have been equally impossible for the orthodox Christian to crucify his enemy. Crucifixion is a torture never inflicted by Christians, but, in the way of appropriate punishment, on them. Thus, in the fifteenth century Dede Sultan, a leader of the Albanian sect of *Bektashi*, was crucified by the Turks because he was suspected of having contaminated the religion of Islam with Christian doctrine. So much for the horrid story from Durazzo, and long live the two hundred Albanians whose fate was so grossly exaggerated!

My other instance does not involve such a simple dismissal of a piece of "foreign intelligence" by a little ordinary intelligence. Rather it illustrates what I might call the "automatic mitigation" of all sweeping denunciations of Balkan conditions.

Some time ago it was my duty "in another capacity" to read a number of romantic stories by Mr. Ashton Hilliers,

and even to reject them. It appears that that Mr. Hilliers is none other than Mr. H. M. Wallis, who now takes enough interest in the Balkans to write very dashing articles about Bulgaria, or, rather, against everything Greek. I have not sat in judgment on Mr. Wallis's tales of Bulgarian woe, because, thank Heaven, it is not my duty to sift the by-products of Bulgarian propaganda; but when I saw his name on the cover of the *Quarterly Review*, something, perhaps habit, made me read his article. It suggested automatically two reflections: Firstly, that Mr. Wallis's Greek butchers must have done their "work of extermination" very badly, judging by the number of survivors who can be produced in Sophia. Secondly, that the "work of extermination" ought to have been extraordinarily easy; for the whole of that countryside, all the surroundings of Strumnitza, Serres, and Doiran, had already during the first war, to my knowledge, been depopulated, with characteristic thoroughness, by the Bulgarians, in their advance on Salonica and Kavalla at the end of 1912. That advance never courted publicity in the Press. No one was allowed to know exactly what methods eliminated the Turk from the obscurer villages of Eastern Macedonia. But I remember a certain Vice-Consul who made quite a hobby of collecting the scanty evidence on this point. And the historian will be able to supplement this by analogy of what was witnessed at the Bulgarian occupations of Serres and Kavalla.

But I certainly never expected to be drawn, in these pages, into the discussion of massacres. If a massacre has taken place, the best thing to do is to forget it, as the most glorious wars will be forgotten in the ripeness of time. War is sufficiently horrible without the elaborations of the journalist; and war is sufficiently absurd without the soldiers afterwards accusing one another of having killed someone.

The Balkan War will never be understood in England, because it was the only sort of war for which there is any

possible excuse. England and the rest of Western Europe have outgrown by about three hundred years the time in the development of nations when fighting is natural and even necessary. England, of course, continues to contemplate war, and to be bluffed by the threat of war in the circumlocutions of diplomacy. But her national welfare no longer requires war; and, if she ever undertakes it, it will be at the bidding of merchants and usurers, who do not represent even the baser instincts of the specifically national spirit, but are wholly foreign and parasitic. On that occasion the *Daily Mail* and the Foreign Office will no doubt assure the British people that the war in question involves the whole honour and welfare of the State; and the people will believe it. But it will not be true. For England is happily not, or not yet, a nation of shopkeepers; and it will be only the shopkeepers whose welfare is concerned.

The Balkan War, on the other hand, was not a shopkeepers' war, but a genuine and almost instinctive expression of national requirements and international adjustments. The shopkeepers of Greece could certainly foresee no commercial advantage, and were shopkeepers so very incompletely that they shouted with the rest for every movement of a war which involved the commandeering (not indeed without payment, but certainly disadvantageous) of their ships and horses, and the conscription of their workmen. They had little even to hope from the commercial exploitation of Macedonia, the benefit of which is more likely to accrue to the Jews of Vienna and to the Standard Oil Company of America, shrewdly trusted as it is to the guidance of the isolated and unsentimental Englishmen of the Levant.

Let me pause for a minute to denounce, neither personally nor even at all anti-semitically, the Jews of Vienna. Think of some village in the heart of Macedonia threaded to Europe only by one dusty mule-track over the mountains, up which the men in goatskin capote and shoes cut out of

raw hide, will drive their ponies,<sup>\*</sup> once a month, balancing all their wealth on the wooden *samar*; think of the women in coarse-woven embroidered shift and brightly dyed woollen apron and hammered silver zone twirling their spindles as they lean against the brown mud-plastered walls; the whole community as beautifully self-supporting as some Platonic polity, and the beauty of its handicrafts directly dependent on freedom from foreign imports. Or think of Monastir in its wide green valley under the high shoulder of the hill, already washed by the tide of pollution, already stocked with machine-made Belgian furniture. Macedonia has been, indeed, the unhappy ground of massacre and oppression; but its last state may be more degraded and more corrupt than the passionate suffering of its captivity, for roads will be built over the mountains, the Viennese bagman will invade them, and the Macedonian in his simplicity will become a ready-made European in shoddy suit and brown boots and black hat, despising the fish of his own silver lakes, to batten on tinned salmon from British Columbia.

It cannot be said, of course, that the Balkan War did not generally benefit all the traders of the Levant. Seeley, or one of his equivalents, said that trade involves war, and war fosters trade; and it stands to reason that all war, whatever temporary dislocation of business it may involve, must ultimately, as a principal form of destruction, assist that intensive cultivation of demand that constitutes nearly the whole of modern trade. Of course, short-sighted shopkeepers will protest against the dislocation, as the Jewish shopkeeper of Salonica persistently grumbled, perhaps honestly forgetting the profits they will make in replacing the commodities destroyed, and in rebuilding most of the towns in Macedonia.\* Whatever the interruption of

\* They need have had no more political economy than Thucydides to know that such a port as Salonica cannot be effectively choked by any obstruction of tariffs or hinterlands. Trade follows the sea-route—*ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα* (ii., 38, 2).



business, commerce must ultimately benefit. But the point is that it was not any expectation of this ultimate profit or any definite purpose of exploiting new markets that stimulated the Balkan War, as they would primarily stimulate any war undertaken in Western Europe.

The war with Turkey was in one aspect at least the cutting of an etiolated growth, the natural defeat of a civilization no longer suited to its environment. The Turks, however charming their manners, however dignified their impassive attitude of occupation, were no longer fitted to survive in Europe among other nations culturally stronger. A military empire with no culture of its own, and usurping foreign cultures, whether French, Arabian, or Syrian, cannot resist the supervention of a culture superior in itself and genuinely national. I have always thought that the poverty of Turkish names, whether local or personal, was a significant if trivial indication of the poverty of Turkish culture.

As dying cultures must be thrown off, so must a strong nation digest or excrete isolated patches of a different culture. And in this light the war with Bulgaria may be regarded as a natural process for the rectification of national outlines and the resolution of enclaves.

It is idle in the presence of such natural and inevitable processes for Bulgaria and Greece and Servia and Turkey to chatter and intrigue about the correct division of the Balkan peninsula. Whatever the agreements and whatever the grotesque distortions of European diplomats, a nation must acquire and can only retain the territory which is occupied by a compact population and a sturdy culture of its own.

I seem to have rambled some way from the consideration of the English Press with which I started, but I believe that most of my subsequent remarks are truly relevant. The newspapers fail to understand the Balkan War, not only because they hardly ever record the whole truth about any occurrence, but also because, unsupported

as they are by any mass of intelligent interest among their readers, they are quite incapable of viewing the occurrences they record from any remote philosophical standpoint. It is no use talking to them about a natural war ; they are too much civilized to understand a war of that sort. The Balkan War was a natural war because it was, as I have tried to suggest, the convulsive acceleration of a natural process.

Natural indeed war may be, but not necessarily inevitable. There is no reason why this instinctive, precipitated war should not be eliminated without giving place to the artificial wars of Western Europe. If Greece and Bulgaria and Turkey will only forget their spites and vendettas by devoting themselves each to her own development, the natural changes and readjustments might proceed without any catastrophic upheaval. Each must cultivate the strength of her own personality, being careful not to borrow any of the ready-made formulæ of France or Germany or England. Then, and only then, it may become something more than a dream to see Greece and Servia and Bulgaria, each sufficient in her own culture, growing up side by side, without compromise, without envy, and without intolerance, in friendship, and in strength.

## THE ALBANIAN SEA-COAST

By E. AUBRY

ALBANIA opens a way to the sea. Her troubles arise from no other cause. Whether the Prince of Wied retains the Crown, or whether Albania returns to Moslem rule, is not the vital point at issue. Albanian national life can only be saved by the ruler, be he Moslem or Christian, recognizing in his policy the importance of his sea-coast.

Roman Catholic Austria has all along been opposed to the nomination of a Roman Catholic Prince to the Albanian throne, because a Roman Catholic King would have suppressed every excuse for "intervention" on behalf of Roman Catholic Albanians. This alone should be sufficient to prove the artificiality of religion in politics.

Austria and Italy cannot be charged with selfishness for wanting a naval base in the Adriatic, since each country looks to its best interests. But Albania must avoid a policy which brings with it absorption by an alien power. The Triple Entente, on the other hand, sees in Albania nothing but a possible source of strength to the Triple Alliance. They look in the first instance to Greece to prevent it: hence the Epirote question. In point of fact, thousands of patriotic Albanians have been described as Greeks because they belong to the Orthodox Church. In eras where the population is very mixed, there is always something to be said for both sides; but the humanitarian sympathies of the

Great Powers always follow the lines of their specific interests.

If King William leaves the country his failure should not be accounted for by the unruliness of the Albanians. The formation of the first Albanian ministry was a grave blunder. There was splendid material for forming a Cabinet of patriotic Albanians suited to cope with the difficulties that beset the new autonomous state. But the progressive element—the Albanians who were bent on directing their country on a broad line of general progress—were rigidly kept out of power. There were only one or two exceptions to this rule, merely to avoid too flagrant a scandal. Turkhan Pasha is, as everyone knows, a distinguished statesman, but he had been for so long out of touch with Albanian politics, that there were problems in the immediate future, by no means insurmountable, but which could only be satisfactorily coped with by men who had remained in close touch with the events in Albania throughout the preceding months. The first Albanian Cabinet was the direct result of foreign influence—a mere façade behind which the Powers could pull the strings.

The one hope of salvation for Albania is in making her sea-coast neutral to the two great rival forces that share Europe between them. She must neither rest on the interested support of the Triple Alliance, nor cause by so doing the antagonism of the Triple Entente. She must escape the claw and the heel. The nationalist element in Albania is very eager to retain the Prince of Wied as their King, but in their desire for complete independence they are inclined to lose sight of the wider issues on which rests the future welfare of their country.

A return to Turkey is the only sane policy that a true statesman, having the vital interests of Albania at heart, can follow. A return to Turkey does not mean necessarily the suzerainty of the Sultan. Events having progressed so far in another direction, a change of rule

would be the source of further dangers to a country which, before everything, requires rest in order to recuperate her vitality. But a return to Turkey can be effected by a close alliance, which would serve the interests of both parties concerned. In the case of such an event taking place, Albania ceases to be a pawn in the game of European diplomacy. She would then be an accession to the strength of Turkey and of Turkey alone. When Albania ceases to be a cause of friction between the rival factions, all the Great Powers will look upon her with equal goodwill. No one wishes war in Europe, but self-preservation is at the root of this over-grasping desire for expansion whenever a loophole presents itself.

Albania's natural destiny is to continue to be for Turkey in the future what she has been in the past: a bulwark. And a bulwark requires some strength at its back, or else it becomes an isolated wall easy to tear down from all sides.

The Albanians are the natural friends and allies of the Turks in the Balkans. The Slav appears to the Albanian precisely in the same light as he does to the Turk. Albania never turned against Turkey in the Balkan upheaval: she found herself separated from Turkey. Her mistake was that she did not make common cause with Turkey, as that would have saved her from the conflicting interests of Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, and all the long tale of misery that ensued. Her independence was proclaimed at a time when it seemed the sole means of showing her survival from the Greek and Slav menace.

The Albanian peasants, both Christian and Moslems, are simple folks. *Agents provocateurs* are busy at work trying to produce disintegration. The Moslem Albanians, quite naturally, would have been glad to retain the suzerainty of the Sultan; but they were prepared to be loyal to a Christian Prince. Dr. Dillon pointed out in a long article in the *Daily Telegraph* that when the so-called insurgents came to the King, it would have required but a little sympathy and understanding of the Albanian character to

conciliate them. An alarm was raised, and the King took to his ships. But he soon realized his mistake, and returned on shore the following day. Christian Albanians, on the other hand, have never feared Moslem rule—the only trouble with the Turks was over the paying of taxes. But they have always been as bitterly—if not more so—opposed to the rule of their Greek or Slav Christian neighbours than the Moslem Albanians.

The idea of a religious war, as the papers have been stating, between the Christian Albanians and Moslem Albanians is preposterous to anyone acquainted with the state of feelings in Albania. The national sentiment is their fetish. They will be neither Greek nor Slav. They got on well with the Turk, but became restive when the Young Turks wished, in their desire for centralization, to take away from them their racial prerogatives.

Turkey finds herself considerably weakened by the ceding of the islands to Greece. If she can rely on a naval base in the Adriatic, it is putting a sword in the hands of one who has nothing left but a blunted truncheon. With Albania united to Turkey, it becomes the duty of England and France to give it the same measure of friendship as they bestow to the Ottoman Empire. The policy of England throughout the last months has caused a good deal of discontent among her Moslem subjects. But an impartial observer will admit that England has never wished for the disintegration of Turkey. Neither has France. Russia is the dangerous Power of the Triple Entente in the Near East, while Austria is the corresponding element in the Triple Alliance, because both are equally desirous of an outlet to the sea. The cry for a port may yet suffice to make the peace assurances of all the Powers waste-paper, and bring on the long-dreaded war.

Russia seeks a port in Norway to Constantinople. The claim of the ever-increasing Slav masses for a longer sea-front becomes stronger every day. It is the great problem of the future.



France leans on Russia and must follow the Russian line of policy because she is afraid of Germany. Depopulation with France is the counter-problem of Slav and Teuton over-population. France gives Russia financial support by buying herself an army which can safeguard her national existence in case of conflict with the ever-swelling Germanic masses on the farther side of the Vosges. England has joined the Triple Entente, having grown nervous of her "splendid isolation." Hence it is that two parliamentary and Liberal powers such as England and France follow the lead of autocratic Russia.

The strengthening of Turkey is one of the surest bases of European peace. With a strong Turkey, Russia cannot think of Constantinople, Germany finds no interests in Anatolia, nor France in Syria.

The position of England in the Mediterranean is becoming more and more precarious. The reincorporation of Albania in Turkey—or close alliance—can be turned into a strong asset by England, if she would but return to something of her pro-Turkish policy of the past, which would be so heartily welcomed by her Moslem subjects throughout the world.

It is true that the policy of the Young Turks has been anti-French in a measure which may serve as an excuse for the alienation of France from Turkey in the last war. But France has tremendous interests there, while, from a merely sentimental standpoint, if England is the proverbial friend of the Turk on the battlefield, the intellectual influence of French thought remains paramount among the educated classes in Turkey.

The Triple Alliance finds her interests also in a strong Turkey, since it is a barrier to the Slav danger. Whether the alliances of Europe could be arranged in such a manner that it would prove more beneficent to some of the parties concerned is debatable. There is no doubt, however, that the two great forces that menace the equilibrium and peace of Europe are the Teutons and the Slavs. They both want

pasture for their surplus population and have many young mouths to feed. If Germany and Russia, by a reversal of things, combined forces instead of being antagonistic to their respective interests, who can foretell what stupendous epoch-making changes might take place?

But to return to the practical problems that confront Europe at the present moment, the Albanian sea-coast should be converted into a source of strength to Turkey for the good of all concerned.

England and France have at no time been opposed to Albania as a detached province of Turkey, or as a source of strength to the Ottoman Empire, but have looked upon it with misgivings as an artificial creation of Austria and Italy. It should now be their endeavour to help Albania to become strong, which would happen of itself if the Powers ceased to tug at her from all sides.

Albania can live as a detached province of Turkey under the suzerainty of the Sultan, or as an autonomous state governed by a Christian Prince as long as her sea-coast ceases to arouse the envy and jealousy of the European Powers.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### THE POSITION OF SANITATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

BY COLONEL W. G. KING, C.I.E., I.M.S. (RETIRED)

WHEN a European proceeds to a tropical country and breaks down in health, the conversational method of summing up the causation is by saying, "The climate did not agree with him"; when an Indian proceeds to a distant locality and likewise breaks down, it is customary to say, "The water of the place did not agree with him." In both cases the persons concerned are represented as helpless victims of circumstances. But, under the general term "sanitation," is included the study of Nature's laws affecting men in all possible aspects and by all yet available means; so that its teaching is conveniently classified under eugenics as to race vigour, and euthenics in respect to factors governing his environment. From knowledge thus accumulated, the sanitarian has been able to lay down the law, "Public health is purchasable. Within certain limitations, a community can determine its own death-rate."\* Yet the sanitarian is no materialist, but gratefully recognizes the overruling power of the Creator, and the blessings for man which Nature's laws hold for the seeking. He is a fatalist only within the meaning so well expressed by Huzaret Umar, when he directed the shifting of camp in the presence of plague. To an inquirer as to why being

\* Motto on the title-page of the *Monthly Bulletin of the Department of Health of the City of New York*.

a Muhammadan he fled, he stated, "With the permission of God, I am running away in the direction ordered by Him."

Public opinion secured, in 1859, a Royal Commission to inquire into the sanitary state of the army in India. They held that neither climate nor race was the great factor of mortality in tropical India, but gross insanitary conditions. They initiated reforms which have reduced the death-rate of British troops from 69 to 4·39, of Indian troops from 20 to 4·48 (including those dying at their homes, 6·78), and prisoners from 82·7 to 30·8 per mille.

Dealing with the civil population, the Commissioners concluded that, in the presence of an organized service of public health and the application of sanitary measures, the people would in time have as healthy lives as those of England. Acting on their advice, the Secretary of State, in 1868, called for proposals for organization both in urban and in rural areas in India. This has since been urged by the provincial Sanitary Commissions, successive Sanitary Commissioners with Local Governments, the Indian Plague Commission, the first Indian Medical Congress, and the Royal College of Physicians, England. But in 1914 organized efforts are confined to municipalities which have a population of 17,000,000, leaving a total of 227,000,000 of British India without sanitary care, or, at the best, with care of an incomplete or haphazard character. These municipalities represent 715 spots in 1,093,000 square miles. In England urban areas contain 78·1 per cent. of the population, but in India they contain only 9·5 per cent. Hence, to say "a reorganization of the sanitary services throughout India" has been effected, as announced, in 1911, by the Government of India, when 90·5 per cent. of the population is without this service, is a "terminological inexactitude."

As the creation of an executive sanitary service organized, on a basis suitable to the locality and races dealt with, is in all countries the A B C of sanitary efforts, it need not be said the anticipations of the Royal Commission have not

yet been realized, so far as civil populations are concerned. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that, although inhibited by many difficulties, sanitation has been barren of results amongst them.

Organized efforts have been carried out only in scattered localities, yet they have been sufficient in number to illustrate what might be done in the future for India were such methods duly extended.

There has, however, been a marked tendency towards improved sanitation over the whole country within the last fifty years, which can be measured in lessened mortality. This may be ascribed to the general influence of the civil authorities, and of reiteration of advice by officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ, in urging sanitary requirements; the influence of the English and vernacular Press; the better accessibility of luxuries to a large proportion of the population; the extension of vaccination and sanitary legislation; the excellent organization against famines; the better-than-nothing efforts in certain areas to repress epidemics, as contrasted with the obviously correct policy of preventing them; and the establishment of bacteriological and other laboratories. Nor is it possible to put aside the efforts of education—the financial enemy of sanitation.

The earliest statistics I have been able to find are those compiled by Dr. Strong in Calcutta, in 1837; he found that, in a period of eleven years, the mortality in a population of 229,000 fluctuated from 37 to 81 per mille, that the average death-rate of Hindus was 57, of Muhammadans 35, and of all Indians 51 per mille. Early statistics also show that 23 per cent. of deaths of Hindus were due to small-pox.

In default of other calculations of early date, were Dr. Strong's rate applicable to all India in 1911, the recurring yearly saving of lives would amount to 4,023,913, as the death-rate according to the average quinquennial registration statistics was 34·85 per mille.

The death-rates for 1881-91, as corrected by the mathematical calculations of Mr. Ackland, for Bengal (45·9), Madras (38·0), Bombay (36·4), show that, notwithstanding the existence of plague between 1897 and 1911, for these provinces there has been a saving in the 1901-11 decade of 613,936 lives, had the average death-rate of 1881-91 been applicable to the populations of 1911.

But it is an axiom that a population with a death-rate over 17 per mille is not under correct sanitary conditions. The rate for all England in 1911 was 14·60; the mean five years' rate (34·85) in 1911 as calculated on registration figures (which is, however, below the corrected figures) for all India is more than double this. Of preventable diseases in 1911, fevers claimed 4,207,000, of which 1,000,000 at least may be ascribed to malaria; plague, 733,000; cholera, 354,000; small-pox, 58,000. In 1911, of sixty-four large towns, seven had a death-rate per mille exceeding 70; in six towns, 60; in five towns, 50; in twelve towns, 40; and in nineteen towns, above 30.

Since 1897 about 8,000,000 have died of plague, and this disease, combined with malaria, has caused a loss of population in the Punjab of 1·7 per cent., and in the United Provinces of 1·1 per cent., and by failure to maintain the previous intercensal rate, Bombay has 1·7 less population than estimated.

According to the 1911 Census Report for Bengal, one in every fifth child born dies; in Bombay City, according to Dr. Turner, the Health Officer, the rate varies from 379 per mille of births for the entire city to 419, according to locality. For India as a whole, the infantile death-rate is 213·97 for males, and for females 196. In England, where the question of infantile mortality is far from being placed on a sound basis, the infantile death-rate is 130. In Sweden, where infantile hygiene is in front of other European countries, it is less than 95 per mille of births. What is possible for Sweden is possible for all other nations.



The net result of such mortality upon the expectation of life at birth of the Indian male is, according to Mr. Gait and other mathematical authorities, dealing in 1911 with the Census of India, 22·59 years, against 46·04 for English males—that is, at birth the Englishman has the expectation of being *a citizen, at the most useful ages, for a period of twenty-three and a half years more than the male Indian*. Sanitary matters in India, in 1837, were evidently much in the same condition as in London in 1660-1775, when the death-rate, *per mille*, was 80 in the first decennial period, 42·1 in the second, and 35·5 in the third; so that the Englishman's expectation of life at birth, 250 years ago, could have been no better than that of the Indian in the present day. Yet, in modern London, with a population of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions, the death-rate is but 14·2 *per mille*.

In the presence of such mortality, if, as I have said, the creation of an executive sanitary service is the A B C of disease prevention, why does India not possess this both in rural and in urban areas?

Sanitary administration of so large an area as India lends itself largely to decentralization; but a certain amount of centralization is necessary, and has been exercised by the Government of India. Hence, whilst local governments have differed greatly in grades of advance, this has been within their various interpretations of the Government of India's policy—added to by local disabilities.

As to the Government of India, their attitude towards sanitary organization has been chiefly that of inhibition and of devolution. They have slowly but surely deflected, or broken down, the organization foreshadowed between 1863 and 1868 by the Royal Commission, and by the Secretary of State.

As the instance has been quoted officially as justification of this policy, and the unpleasant experience has been ascribed to the evil influence of *sanitary* advisers, the facts should be better known. I refer to the Bombay and Poona riots, which followed their well-meant but misguided efforts

to repress plague. The sanitarians of the Indian Medical Service had nothing to do with the blundering schemes which ignorance of caste customs then permitted. The Government of India preferred then, as now, to ignore the fact that, as years have rolled on, sanitation, although born of medicine, is of age ; and that it is engaged on a different profession to that of its father—the *prevention*, not the cure, of disease—and no longer needs his control. As a result, at a time when the Panama Canal will inevitably lead to greater international treatment of sanitation, the Member for Education decides the sanitary policy of India, the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, an officer ordinarily promoted from the selected list of Lieutenant-Colonels (solely of the Bengal Establishment) for his ability in curative medicine, dictates the policy of its adviser in preventive medicine, and indicates the direction sanitary research should take. The resulting organization is widely different from that contemplated by the Royal Commission of 1859 ; or, as advised unanimously by the first Indian Medical Congress of 1894, on the motion of our present Chairman, Professor W. J. Simpson, that sanitation should have its own Member in the Government ; or, as it exists in the Federal Service of America, in the Local Government Board of England—especially if its recent suggested grouping of services be effected—in the German tropical Colonies and in Spain. In none of these countries is sanitation subject to curative medicine. This is how the matter strikes a foreign observer, as stated by Dr. Guiteras at the late Sanitary Conference held at Santiago de Chile : “ It does not seem that the Indian authorities have faced the great problem entailed by plague and cholera with requisite energy. Scientifically they have done so, seeing that they contributed more than anybody else to our knowledge of the first-named disease ; but, on the administrative or political side of it, one detects a want of that unity of action, that political strength and determined purpose exhibited, for instance, by the Americans in the Philippines. In India, on the contrary, one discovers the

same neglect rampant in Cuba during the Colonial period. Instead of preoccupying themselves with yellow fever in India, it were more reasonable, and I should add more generous, to warn us of the danger we are running, in face of this near inauguration of the new route to the Far East."

But, as I am one of those who believe Englishmen rule India with every nerve strained that its people may be more prosperous and its land at peace (although being human they are not infallible in their methods), it is reasonable to believe that, in the opinion of the Government of India, there are sound grounds for their persistent policy of inhibition. They deprecate the "letting loose of sanitary enthusiasts," forgetting that in organized services both methods of procedure and discipline are capable of rigidity; they reject, in rural areas, an extension of an executive sanitary service, on the ground of opposition of caste prejudices—from facts deduced from their own needless experience—and they hold finances are not available for sanitation, on no better ground than allowing other departments to commandeer the bulk of available funds, and then leaving the remnants for sanitation.

Their present policy is, presumably, founded on the theory of securing sanitation by proceeding along the line of least resistance. The spread of education has always appealed to the middle and higher classes of India, and to utilize this means would be obviously popular; especially as education enthusiasts have added a fallacy that in the absence of eugenics, education can secure eugenics.

Of course, if there be race or caste opposition to sanitation, the misfortune of absence of advance must rest largely with the educated classes of India; but the truth is that few, either Europeans or Indians, have taken the trouble to ascertain what is meant by caste in relation to hygiene, and misapprehensions have arisen. Certainly, the Government of India, when, for the sake of uniformity, it permitted the military department to sanction saluting of

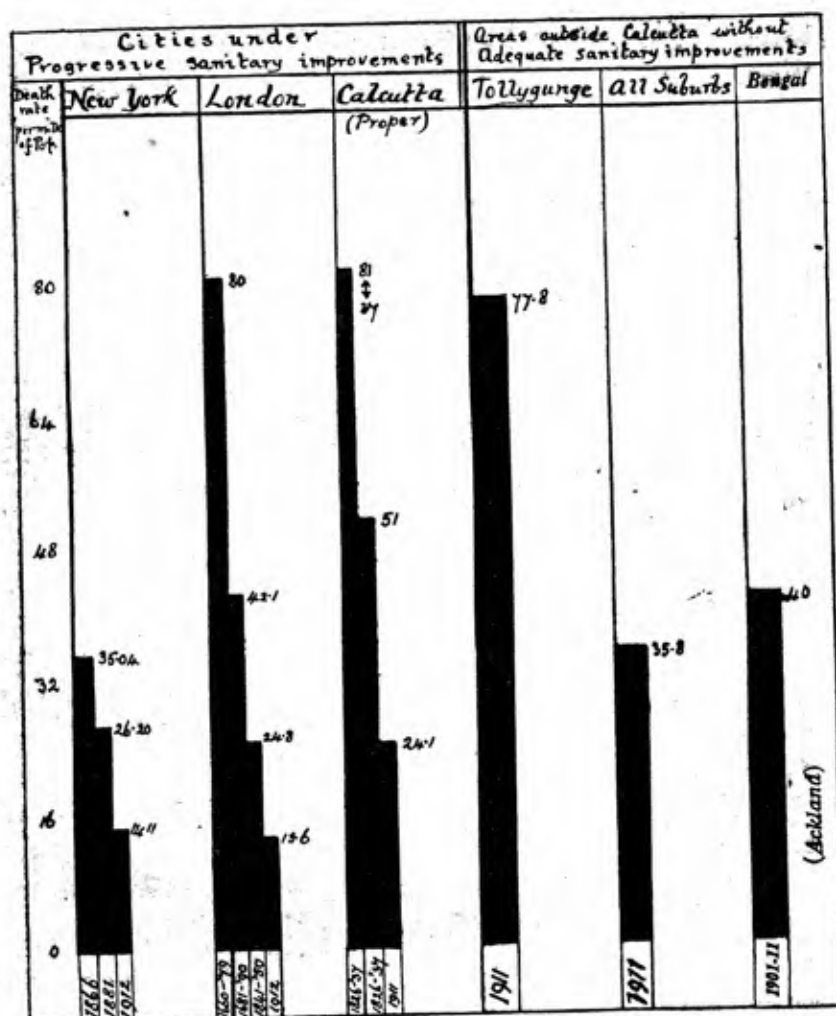
Europeans with the left hand, and thus very naturally let its use be regarded as legitimate by the civil population, thought little of the social relation of caste.

The Institutes of Vishnu and the laws of Manu fit in excellently, so far as the subjects touched go, with the bacteriology, parasitology, and applied hygiene of the West. The hygiene of food and of water, private and public conservancy, disease suppression, and prevention are all carefully dealt with. Here and there in the present day the means to the end differ, but the principles remain unaffected. Even were this not so, the laws of Manu are not those of the Medes and Persians. Whilst malevolent criticism is forbidden, friendly interpretation of the tenets of the Sastras "by reasoning and inference" is sanctioned; even the possibility of change is acknowledged in the event of "custom" differing with the times, as followed by "good and virtuous men." Nor, if racial prejudices are to be considered, can it be held that either by the teachings of the Koran or the Muhammadan traditions, opposition to hygiene can be reasonably exhibited. In Aurungabad, Ahmednuggar, and Burhampore, splendid evidence of Muhammadan appreciation in former days of public water-works exists.

Personally, I have found in the South of India, where caste prevails more tenaciously than in most parts of the country, that in dealing with the knotty question of religious festivals, it was not difficult to secure the support of leading Hindus to refinements of hygiene that could not be enforced by extant laws, by appealing to the fact that my recommendations were fully within the principles recognized by Vishnu and Manu.

The whole objection to employment of an executive sanitary service not only for urban, as recently sanctioned, but for rural areas, can be met by employing (especially in the executive grades where close contact with the people occurs) technically qualified men of the race or of not lower caste than the people dealt with. To suggest that to take this course would result in "letting sanitary

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THE SQUARE IN THE CORNER OF THE DIAGRAM REPRESENTS PROPORTIONATELY THE 17,000,000, CARED FOR BY AN EXECUTIVE SANITARY SERVICE OF THE TOTAL 244,000,000, OF BRITISH INDIA.



enthusiasts loose," in India is beside the point. It would be, indeed, a poorly organized service that could not be adapted to the requirements of the locality dealt with. I do not speak without experience. Since 1894, all local bodies in the Madras Presidency have been directed by the Government to entertain no sanitary inspectors other than those who have passed examinations approved by them, which demand a higher grade of general and technical education than is now required by local bodies in Great Britain. They have filled all permanent appointments in municipalities as well as in a few districts in rural areas, and have been used for prevention and suppression of epidemics both in rural and urban areas throughout the Presidency. High caste men have been encouraged to enter, so that in 1909, 52 per cent. were Brahmins. In that year, of a total of 683 qualified men, 451 were employed on sanitary duties. Nowhere has their work, under most difficult circumstances, had any mischievous result. On the contrary, they have been a most important factor in making the people understand the kindly intentions of the public authorities, and educating them for disease prevention. Whilst in other areas of India plague has trammelled trade, agriculture, and recruiting, in the Madras Presidency plague mortality has rarely exceeded 0.1 per mille, in the face of an organization that has been little modified from September 1896 to date. The Madras sanitary staffs have always been in advance of plague spread, instead of, as elsewhere, making the much more expensive and yet largely futile effort to suppress epidemics and epizootics several weeks after their origin.

But those who know their India may well object to my rosy picture of the connection between caste and hygiene, when they remember the insanitary habits of the bulk of the lower classes. The neglect of precepts is, however, a very different matter to saying that certain requirements are against these precepts. Further, I grant, here and there, opposition is to be met *nominally* on the grounds of

caste, which have no foundation in fact. Pretensions are also sometimes advanced, which are analogous to the snobbism of social caste as found in this country; the lower the caste, frequently the greater the snobbism, and the less the obedience to the dictum *noblesse oblige*. Both forms can be got rid of by dissection of rights.

If, then, the Government of India have overestimated the difficulties of caste and would trust to education, it is advisable to see how far it is committed to that policy, and whether, as it hopes, the ends of sanitation can be readily attained thereby in rural areas.

Sir Harcourt Butler thus defines the position: "Our first and signal objective is to educate the people as to the value and the necessity of measures for protecting them in their homes and their lives, and those dearest to them, from the ravages of plague and malaria, cholera, and other communicable diseases, and all the miseries which follow in their train. . . . Fortified by the results of research in India, we can leave the future with confidence to preventive medicine and preventive sanitation." The rhetorical appreciation of the effects of existing insanitary conditions is, as might be expected from so versatile a politician, most sympathetic. Yet the "man in the street" interested in the sanitary welfare of India would feel better satisfied with a matter-of-fact indication of what awaiting "the future with confidence" really implies. The Hon. Mr. Slack, in the Bengal Legislative Council, gave a definite reply, withal vague as to time, by asserting that protected water supplies are to be arranged for the people—*when they have been taught to appreciate them*. Mr. Gokhale, who is so largely interested in elementary education, considers that to add 91,000 to the existing 100,000 schools would, at the present rate of progress, require seventy years. So that if we are to trust to education for advance in rural areas, sanitation may see the light there about another hundred years, hence. Another estimate may be made by those

who know anything of the household life of the Indian, by adding the rider that even this suggested rate must be conditional upon the education of females being on a scale yet unthought of. The present practical and outspoken Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Madras, Major Justice, in his official Report for 1911, estimates as follows: "It seems to me that until a sanitary service is introduced and sanitary work carried on in a systematic manner, with a correctly organized and adequate sanitary staff capable of dealing with recommendations of reporting officers, and maintaining the measures introduced, we must rest satisfied with such sanitation as is possible under the existing conditions. To wait till the people are educated will be to indefinitely postpone the evil." Dr. Turner, the Health Officer for Bombay, holds the following opinion: "The only education in sanitary matters these people understand is laws and by-laws, and this is the form education should take. The millennium will have arrived when they voluntarily carry out sanitary matters."

But, putting aside the length of continuance of "all the miseries" Sir Harcourt Butler so feelingly depicts, is there any truth in the belief that the people must be educated before their mortality can be reduced by sanitary efforts applied to their environments—euthenics? And, here, I must ask it to be fully understood that I believe in the efficacy of education in advancing sanitation, speaking generally, and that what I desire to urge is not an objection to education *per se*, but, in this particular case, to the absolutely hysterical manner in which its claims have recently been advanced as a substitute for sanitation, and as a panacea for all the evils of India: whilst sanitation—the foundation of economic progress and of content of populations—has been treated with a *placebo*. Either Sir Harcourt Butler or Lord Beaconsfield was wrong, for this is what the latter held to be correct statesmanship: "The reforms directed towards the advancement of public health must

ever take precedence before all others." And again, "that the health of the people was the most important question for a statesman." This is the opinion of Sir C. Trevelyan, which was expressly concurred with by the Royal Commission of 1859-63, as to the necessity for application of sanitary measures to the civil populations of India: "I consider that not only the preservation of life and health is concerned, but the strength and comfort and general efficiency of the population are involved; they would be better and abler men, women, and children for all the purposes of life, if the average standard of mental and bodily vigour were improved by the removal of these local causes of a low state of health." Indeed, in no country in the world has it been suggested that the progress of sanitation should halt, so that education may advance as its pioneer!

In Great Britain elementary education was not compulsory till 1870, but in 1848 the first series of sanitary reforms under the Public Health Act of that date were carried out. By 1851 the First Housing Act was enforced. Here, however, is the practical experience of the Board of Education of England, as stated in the Report for 1912-13: "It is now realized that health is more important than knowledge, and that without health little knowledge will be acquired."

The officer responsible to the Education Department for effecting its policy (the Director-General of the I.M.S.) has a want of faith in education that is somewhat startling, having regard to his support of its dicta on other occasions. At the Second All-India Sanitary Conference, he gave the following opinion, which I quote from the official Report: "One thing I should like to add is, although I entirely agree with Major Liston's remarks about the ignorance of educated Indians as regards sanitary measures, yet they apply equally well to a large number of educated Europeans."

Education by pamphlets in sanitary matters is another

method urged by educational enthusiasts. I do not deny that it has its sphere of utility, but how slender it is in practice may be estimated from a Report by the Director of Public Health (Dr. Herser) as to prevention of beri-beri in the Philippines: "In the Philippines education has been faithfully tried. Over half a million of school-children have been taught the contents of Bulletin No. 12, entitled: 'Beri-Beri, and How to Prevent it.' . . . The vernacular Spanish and English papers were freely employed, and public addresses on beri-beri are frequently made." The results after such endeavours to the end of 1913 are thus stated: "From these figures it is apparent that, after three years of faithful trial of the educational methods, we are practically where we were in 1910."

Nor is it necessary to accept the opinion that much enlargement of the rural mind is to be obtained by primary education. Thus, Mr. Prothero, in his last Report for the quinquennium in Bengal, states: "A little over 34 per cent. of the total number of pupils in the primary stage of instruction in 1911-12 was returned as not reading printed books." From a report on the condition of schools in Calcutta by another authority it is not possible to regard them as object-lessons in sanitation. Indeed, it is strongly maintained by Mr. John Kay, the President of the 1912 National Conference of Head-Teachers in England, not that education could usefully replace euthenics, but that "its efforts to promote that higher life and inculcate the nobler desire were made nugatory by the slum environment."

But what does the waiting for the future, with, or without, the confidence Sir H. Butler wishes to inspire, mean in respect to the economic progress of the country?

It is a well-worn fact that each life lost before effective citizenship can be rendered represents unproductive expenditure of capital sunk; to this must be added, during sickness, loss by wages, medical comforts, and, if death occurs, funeral ceremonies. A sickly community is, therefore, universally a poor community; for, as Emerson has stated,



"health is the first wealth." Dealing simply with the question of how far death prevents the capital spent on education being realized by good citizenship, the purpose for which it is understood Mr. Gokhale especially is interested in its outlay, it will be found that of the total funds (£4,459,200) spent on education in the official year 1910-11, the amount wasted by reason of 29·5 per cent. of the total population (representing the proportion attending school), between eight and fourteen years of age, failing to reach twenty-nine years, on account of the high mortality rate, as contrasted with that of England, to which I have referred, amounts to £851,318 of the total funds; and, allowing very freely for error, the amount is £600,000, half being from official funds. This calculation was kindly made for me by Mr. Stott, a well-known mathematician. In 1913-14 the total cost for education was £6,013,000. By the time the total funds spent on education are increased by a further £2,273,106 for the extra 91,000 schools, the loss per annum will represent a real annual drain on India, for which there is no return.

Exceedingly little has been done up to date, in the country where the true etiology of malaria was the epoch-making discovery of Sir Ronald Ross in 1898, to get rid of this cause of mortality and labour disability. So little did the Government of India appreciate, in 1898, this great advance in the cause of sanitation, that neither then nor since have they so much as issued the stereotyped phrase, "The special thanks of the Government are due," etc. Research "in vicious circles" has taken the place of measures against malaria already applied practically elsewhere. In the meantime, by using rates for unproductive expenditure gained from facts accepted by Indian observers, I find, as it is officially granted that of the 4,500,000 deaths annually from fevers, 1,000,000 are due to malaria, and that for those deaths 100,000,000 cases of sickness occur, excluding the vested capital of man as a producer, the total unproductive expenditure under this head would



amount per annum to £20,398,113. This is assuming that this million cases of deaths are limited to a class of coolies earning five rupees per month, age distribution of the population being allowed for, and proportionately treated ; whilst, as a fact, malaria spares neither sowcar nor politician.

There has been by no means general approval in certain of the provinces of India of the idea that the inhibition policy of the Government of India is to be continued as to rural areas ; consequently, there are being evolved extraordinary compromises. In more than one area, the old fallacy of mixing the cure and prevention of disease is seen in the development of "travelling dispensaries" ; in another, money is distributed in doles to rustics under the premiss that sanitary science is intuitive, and that the logical sequence is that funds being limited, they will be devoted in order of urgency ; in others, large sums are devoted to improvement of water-supply, whilst it is forgotten that, even in the presence of mechanical arrangements, pollution by flaws in structure, or altered sanitary conditions of the drainage cone or catchment, can only be met by zealous inspection by *technically trained men*. In other parts of India, the dictum that education is the panacea for sanitation has been received by district boards with the resolution to wait for its happy results ; and, in the meantime, to use funds that should go to sanitary advance towards capital for railways. Railways are, I consider, essential factors in economic progress ; but as there is ample proof to show that in India they are paying investments, it is not for district boards to fail to stem advancing mortality that they may enter the market of trade. If, as is the case, they are paying investments, capitalists are doubtless at their disposal. At the present moment, there are district boards paying absolutely inadequate attention to the sanitation of their areas, whilst raising special funds for railways by extra local taxation.

Irrespective of the *festina lente* policy, in the official opinion, there are "no funds" for sanitation in rural areas. Of course, if district boards elect, as at present, to spend an

absurdly disproportionate part of their income on academic education, so that the population may be comfortably educated before they are cremated, there must be left less for sanitation upon which the racial and economic progress of the country depends. A wiser and more legally correct course in the public interest, would seem to be to spend a reasonable and proportionate amount for the various demands upon their funds authorized by the Acts they administer, and before concluding that an executive sanitary service would be prohibitive in cost to ascertain facts by estimates in detail. For example, for a reasonably sound sanitary scheme, *worked in detail* for rural areas, which at the present day may require improvement, I found, in 1897, that if municipalities spent in Madras 1.92 per cent. of their income as an additional charge, or a total of 4.85 on sanitation and vaccination staffs, local boards 4.28 per cent., and provincial funds 0.43 per cent., this apparently so-called "prohibitive" requirement could be met.

Not only do district boards spend a disproportionate amount for education but its claims, when acting *per se* to life-saving, under which it calmly classes officially the Sanitary as one of its "miscellaneous departments," are very far from demonstrable. The corrected intercensal death-rate (1901-11), according to Mr. Ackland, for the United Provinces is 46, Punjab 43.3, Bombay 35.8, and Madras 33.4 per mille, whilst the expenditure per cent. on district board incomes, minus fees received, for education, amounted to 27.8, 20.1, 34.8, and 6.8 respectively. In the same order, the amounts spent on vaccination and sanitation and water-supply were 2.05, 1.8, 7.2, and 5.8 respectively. The mortality rate for Bengal is 40 per mille, notwithstanding one existing primary school for every three-square miles; the percentage of income, minus fees, spent on education by District Boards, is 16.7 for 1913-14. The other rates are not easily found, as owing to territorial changes sanitary charges are doubtful; but, in 1909, only 0.5 per cent. of income was spent on combined sanitation and vaccination, *plus* 1.4 per cent. on water-supply. The Bombay figure of 7.2

is good under water-supply, but in expenditure for sanitary organization is but 1·8, whereas Madras gave 4 per cent. In the latter Presidency Mr. Ackland's rates show in the 1901-11 decennium, as contrasted with that of 1881-91,\* a decrease of mortality of 4·6 per mille, whereas in Bombay the decrease amounts to 0·6 per mille only. Clearly, therefore, if these figures are of any value, success lies with the Madras Presidency, not with the greatness of the educational grant, but with sanitary expenditure on works—subject to its being allied with the best approach to a sanitary organization in India. That is, the influence of eugenics is paramount.

This disproportionate and haphazard treatment of sanitation and of education is not confined to local bodies. The same treatment is given to the former when grants are made from Imperial funds. Thus, in Budget speeches in England and in India, much has been heard of sanitation being financed 73 per cent. beyond preceding years, and that (in all modesty) education advanced only 78 per cent.; whilst, by taking the three previous years into account for sanitation, the extraordinary result of 112 per cent. was trumpeted. But to increase the five rupee wages of a coolie 112 per cent. would not make him the co-equal of a man whose income, being already in thousands, is increased *only* 78 per cent. Such figures leave out the not unimportant fact that between 1902 and 1911 education has received snowball recurring Imperial grants (starting at £266,000), till the sum of £560,000 was reached, and this has swollen in 1914-15 to £820,000, against £283,000 for sanitation, or, according to a questionable interpretation of "sanitation," £306,000. Sanitation, however, received no recurring grants whatsoever till 1908; so that between 1902 and 1914, what with grants recurring and non-recurring from the Imperial and Provincial Govern-

\* In a later calculation, Ackland credits increase of mortality, per mille, as follows: Bengal, 2·8; United Provinces, 8·5; Bombay, 9·2; Punjab, 10·2; against Madras, 0·7.

ments, the amount received by education has been in millions of pounds—about seven times more than for sanitation. Comparisons between expenditure on education and sanitation are often also rendered fictitiously favourable by the simple expedient of speaking of sums as devoted to education *and* sanitation together, and adhering to the anachronism of Indian Budgets of classing sanitation under the head “medical,” and clumping medical relief of disease with its prevention. As to proportionate expenditure for education since 1900, the pupils increased 52 per cent., with an increased cost of 109 per cent. ! Obviously, the brainy men of the Educational Department are obeying Gladstone’s indication to “mak sicca.” They are bent on ear-marking all possible funds by steady additions to recurring grants from Imperial, provincial, and local sources. It requires no prophet to say, therefore, that sanitation which is fed on “doles” during exceptional prosperity, must be checked in progress in the presence of war, famine, or trade depression, whilst education will sail gaily on. The Government of India doubtless knows where education is leading them to financially ; but it is remarkable that no forecast of the cost of expansion under the present educational policy has been made public. In the meantime, education threatens funds for the defence of the country and its railway expansion.

Divested of the glamour of recent non-recurring doles, which will materially aid sanitary advance in municipalities, my review of the existing conditions leads me to believe that the present position of sanitation in the administration of India, regarded as an Empire, is as poorly defined and incomplete in regard to the general population as in 1867 ; both as to its sanitary service and the unsatisfactory arrangements as to finances devoted to it, and which led the Secretary of State in his Despatch of 1868 to inform the Government of India, “ I have expressed my approval of the appointment of special Medical Sanitary Inspectors for each Government, and administration immediately

subordinate to Your Excellency in Council; but I desire now to be informed of the organization by which it is proposed, under the Medical Sanitary Inspectors' supervision, to secure the health and cleanliness of towns and villages under each Government. In large towns, the municipalities will be rendered available for this duty. I would ask further what arrangements will be made for attaining the same object in small villages." The Army Sanitary Commission, in 1867, in urging the same requirements, added: "In doing so it might be very desirable to raise the whole question of inspection, executive, and finances."

If, as I have suggested, the Government of India have, in the public interests, restrained sanitation in the honest belief of obstacles which do not really exist, is it not clearly the duty of Indians "of light and leading," in the interest of the lives of their fellow-beings, to remove false impressions? In young India, men vie with each other in finding some new way for what they hold is the salvation of the country. But, there is no new way to find. No amount of academic talk of rights and wrongs, will help to find a new way. Patiently, and with self-abnegation as to local taxation, in the belief that "health is purchasable," as has been shown by the citizens of London, in reducing their death-rate from 80 to 14·2 per mille, they must press their countrymen for change of social customs leading to unproductive expenditure, displace the sowcar and his heartless drain of India, and by eugenics, not solely of theory by education, but of demonstration by sanitary works and organization for disease prevention, hasten the progress of eugenics, and direct the energies of a healthy and vigorous people thus evolved towards the development of the enormous resources of the country. On this old road, trodden, painfully of necessity, by all nations which have attained the front rank of civilization, will be found ultimately health, wealth, and content for India.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a Meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, May 27 1914, a paper was read by Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E. (I.M.S., retired, formerly Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Madras), entitled, "The Position of Sanitation in the Administration of India." Professor W. J. Simpson, C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. H. R. Cook, Lieutenant-Colonel B. J. Singh, I.M.S., Captain R. D. Saigol, I.M.S., Mr. H. Pennington, Mr. Md. Yamin Khan, Khan Bahadur Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Mr. I. S. Haji, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, Mr. H. H. Hamed, Mr. L. H. Hamed, Mr. H. Rogerson, Colonel Wilkinson, Mr. B. H. Singh, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. T. Summers, Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. John Lee-Warner, Mr. J. Bonner, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. A. G. Bagshawe, Mr. H. Das, Colonel Gordon Young, Mr. Maurice Hyde, Mr. R. Maitland, Mr. R. W. S. Marmar, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Captain King, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in introducing Colonel King, who is going to address us on the position of sanitation in the administration in India. I do not think there is anyone more fitted to give a paper like this. (Hear, hear.) He was the Sanitary Commissioner for the Madras Presidency from 1893 to 1905, and, by the organization which he arranged for in that Presidency, he was able to keep it in the forefront of sanitation; the plague there has been less than in any of the other Presidencies, and that speaks a great deal for his organization. Then he was Inspector-General in Burmah, and Sanitary Commissioner there for some short time. He knows Burmah very well, and I had the pleasure of meeting him on the same platform twenty years ago in Calcutta, and, curiously enough, the subject that we were then discussing was the one that we are going to discuss to-day. I have much pleasure in introducing the lecturer.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then proceeded to read the lecture.



The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I think that you will all agree with me in saying that the facts presented by Colonel King in relation to the vital statistics of India are very remarkable. Briefly, they may be summarized in this way: the death-rate of the whole of India is more than double that of England. The death-rate varies in sixty-four towns from 30 to 70 per mille, and the expectation of life of the young Indian at birth is twenty-three and a half years less than that of an English child. He has mentioned that there are annually 1,000,000 deaths from malaria, and over 250,000 deaths from cholera; that small-pox destroys thousands of lives annually, and that there were in the sixteen years since plague began some 8,000,000 deaths from that disease. I do not think that anyone can be satisfied with this condition of things. The lecturer has pointed out very clearly that the high mortality in India is dependent on removable causes, and that any reductions that have been effected has been mainly due to the influence and advice of that distinguished service in India—the Indian Medical Service. By urging the removal of gross insanitary conditions they have been able to effect a considerable change in many places; they have succeeded in reducing the death-rate of the natives in the army to nearly 5 per 1,000, and similarly in many localities good work has been done where there has been an organized service. Calcutta is mentioned as having its annual death-rate reduced from eighty in the olden times to twenty-four at the present time. Many of you will have read Dr. Busted's book, and will remember a description of his where the citizens of former days who survived after the rains met under the great banyan-tree on the Maidan and congratulated themselves that they were alive. Now a very different state of things exists.

There can be no doubt that India at the present time is in a largely defenceless condition against epidemic diseases, because it is without that organized executive sanitary service which Colonel King mentions, and which he in a measure introduced into the Madras Presidency, and which has been so powerful in checking epidemic disease there. The defenceless state of the country was recognized by the Indian Medical Service in 1894 at the Indian Medical Congress, and by all the medical profession of India who were present at that Congress, and they unanimously recorded that certain reforms ought to be taken in hand in regard to Indian sanitation. Briefly they were these: That a specially trained and separate sanitary service should be arranged for, just as the Public Health Service in England is separate and quite independent of physicians in connection with the hospitals or of those in private practice; then, that there should be schools of hygiene and preventive medicine, and also of sanitary engineering, and that diplomas should be granted to those who were trained in those schools; and, fourthly, that laboratories for research should be established in various parts of India.

Now, Colonel King has handled the Government of India rather severely, and I think I ought to perform a new rôle and take up their defence. The Government of India have followed up the lines of these recommendations, not wholly, perhaps, but certainly in part. Seven hundred and fifteen municipalities are to have an organized sanitary service; laboratories

have been and are being established, and diplomas in public health are to be established. They were established in Madras many years ago, and schools of hygiene and sanitary engineering are being created. It may have taken numerous pressings from time to time for the Government of India to move, but it is to its credit that it has at last moved, and promises to move much farther. I entirely agree with the lecturer when he says they have not moved enough, and have made a retrograde step in the matter of effective administration. The movement forward only represents provision of a sanitary service for the protection of 10 per cent. of the population. One may ask what is to become of the other 90 per cent. ? (Hear, hear.) In England and Wales we have 1,700 local Medical Officers of Health, 40 county Medical Officers of Health, and in the Central Department of the Local Government Board 26 medical men. Just compare that with India, which, excluding Russia, is the size of Europe.

Under the new scheme there are to be 25 Sanitary Commissioners, 12 Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, 34 first-class Medical Officers of Health, and 104 second-class Medical Officers of Health. One can hardly recognize that as being an adequate service for India, and one has to go back to the old position—that until a proper sanitary service for India is formed, which would be a splendid outlet for young Indian medical men and women, things will not progress as they should do.

Then there is another objection. It is that the sanitary organization is not a separate service as regards the Government of India. It is separate in the different presidencies or local governments. The head of the sanitary service of the Government of India is not one of the experienced Sanitary Commissioners of the local governments, who should have been promoted to the important position of Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India when its late Sanitary Commissioner died. Instead of a man like that having been appointed, a retrograde step has been taken, and a very talented and distinguished medical man, who deserves all the honours he has received—for his medical services, and not for his sanitary services—has been appointed as the adviser of the Government of India on sanitary matters, for which he has not been trained. Under these circumstances difficulties must arise. Another retrograde step is that the sanitary service has been placed under the Minister of Education. I wrote once to the *Times* on this matter when it was being mooted, and pointed out that the sanitary service had been placed under the Educational Department as a sort of miscellaneous item, along with archaeology and matters of that description. With a *régime* such as this, one is not surprised that essentials in reference to sanitation are at the present moment being neglected. We hear a good deal about research, and research is much cheaper than the *application* of sanitary matters. No one has a greater respect for research than I have. A few years ago I urged that sanitary research and administration should go hand in hand. (Hear, hear.) That is the real position. At the present time a great deal of research has been done—very useful in its way—and no doubt it will be fruitful of results; but I consider that the application of sanitary measures on the basis of what we already know is the urgent need of India. (Hear, hear.) I will

give you an illustration of this. Supposing the Government of India had been asked to construct the Panama Canal, the kind of proceedings they would have introduced with the present *régime* would have been to send out men to make researches; they would not have based their actions on the discoveries already known of Ross and Finlay, as the Americans have done. These investigators would have found that the mosquitoes there were a little different from what they were in other places where malaria and yellow fever existed, and under the circumstances the recommendations would have been made to postpone the matter until a further discovery was made. (Laughter.) I am convinced that sanitation will not receive adequate attention in India until there is a Minister of Health whose duty is concerned solely with sanitation and the health of the population.

This paper ought to do an immense amount of good. Like everything else, there may be criticisms in it which, along with my own remarks, might very well be left out, but I invite all those present here to give a full expression of their opinions on this very important matter. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, in opening the discussion, said: I have listened to Colonel King's lecture with the liveliest interest, and with greatly bettered instruction on the subject of it;—treated as it has been by Colonel King, at once with the enthusiasm he has always shown in the discharge of his public duties as a sanitarian, the fullest illumination, and the most commendable moderation; and, as a brother medical man, I heartily wish him all success in the benevolent cause to which he has so ably and courageously devoted his long and distinguished public service under the Government of India.

But it is everywhere, and in everything, and always, wisest for statesmen, and administrators, and their official, and officious, advisers, to be controlled by the spirit of Pope's lines:

"Be not the first by whom the new is tried,  
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside:"

and in nothing is it more wise than in the consideration and adoption of measures of public sanitation, particularly in India. Is there really an unquestionable virtue in lowering the death-rate of a country, and raising its birth-rate, a rabid rage for which has been rampant in Germany and France for the past forty years? It is a physiological law—*i.e.*, inevitable fact—that the population of a country always increases on the supplies for its subsistence; and with the more rapid and cruel economic oppressiveness, the more peaceful, and prosperous, and powerful a country becomes; and the operation of this physiological law, and its economic consequences, unless counterbalanced by devastating wars, and famines, and plagues, and by ritual murders, such as infanticide and *sati*, or by wholesale emigration, must end in either effective bloody revolutions—but effective only for from three to four generations,—or in ineffective legal revolutions, aiming at the division of every kind of property equally among all the people of a country, than which nothing could be more disastrous and destructive to its people themselves, individually and collectively. I am reminded of "moral

restraints." Nonsense! They are all equally unnatural—in the words of Claudian :

"Vivunt in Venerem frondes ;  
... nutant ad mutua palmæ  
Fœdera ; populeo suspirat populus ictu,  
Et platani platanis, alnoque adsibilat alnus."

The common sense of the matter is that sanitation is desirable, not for the purpose of decreasing the death-rate and increasing the birth-rate, but to make life healthier and happier for those strong and well born enough to survive the sharp struggle for existence—that alone is the test of one's worthiness to live. This is the sanitation that is for humanity as "the airs from heaven"; but the sanitation that exists in the survival of the unfittest, of children ill born, and of unemployable and useless men, that allows the weeds to choke the trees in "the Garden of God," is as "the blasts from hell." I remember the illustrious Professor, Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., when I was a student at Edinburgh, 1849-54, saying that the time would come when all unfit humans would have to be more or less pleasantly "translated." There is no microbe or bacillus more terrible to mankind than a superfluous man—that is, a useless man, or one suffering from incurable disease, or past the extreme Biblical age of eighty, or the Hindu age, *chaurasi*—i.e., eighty-four—the age of entrance into *Nirvana*. It may, indeed, be well said—Æschylus has as much as said it—that there is no sanitarian equal in acceptability and efficacy to death; and it is incomprehensible that fanatical sanitarians should hesitate to look that fact full in the face.

Then in India—India of the Hindus—we have to beware of what, in our ignorance and heedlessness, we stigmatize as popular "prejudices," but which are in reality the unbroken tradition of the immemorial sacrosanct personal, domestic, social, and communal habits and customs of a people of the same Aryan stock as ourselves, who were civilized centuries before us, and who in their sense of personal, domestic, social, and communal duty and conduct, and in their literary and artistic and religious culture, still remain centuries ahead of us; and are behind us only in scientific knowledge, and military genius, and political wisdom. But surely we ourselves betray "a plentiful lack" of political wit in seeking to force upon such a people, against their grain, "reforms," and, in particular, "sanitary reforms," their concurrence with which we could so easily secure by accommodating them to their own idiomatic (*swami, istilai*) prescriptions and usages. When Inspector-General A. H. Leith, M.D., the greatest physician of his period in India, undertook the preparation of his series of mortuary returns for the Town and Island of Bombay, and again, later, when I was directed to prepare returns of the rainfall throughout Western India, invaluable as they were for the private information of the Government, I always protested against their being published in the weekly official *Gazette*, and continued so to do long after leaving Bombay in 1869-70; arguing that, whereas increased mortality and diminished rainfalls had hitherto been uncomplainingly attributed to the will of the gods, in future, blame for them would be laid, with ever augmenting weight, upon the

shoulders of "the British Raj." And this was incontinently done; and these returns have proved to be, in my opinion, one of the subsidiary causes of the so-called "unrest in India" which, between 1909 and 1912, caused so much quite unnecessary anxiety within the insulated limits of Great Britain. The unrest in India is the unrest we find in the United Kingdom and the United States of America; that is, the unrest of people who, in consequence of prolonged peace and great prosperity, so far as statistical returns of moral and material progress can attest it, have outstripped the means of their own maintenance: the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer than ever through the inevitable fall in the market rate of wages. This unrest has been exasperated in India within the narrowly restricted class of Indians who have been officially educated as if they were Englishmen, without the Government having, by the development of the reproductive resources of the country on European lines, previously provided for them adequate chances of a livelihood commensurate with their scientific attainments and Western culture. We have unfitted them for earning their daily bread in the hereditary occupations of their forefathers; and we have done nothing in the way of opening up to them the alien professions for which we have so assiduously trained them. And, looking beyond these Anglicized Indians, the unrest in India, due to economic causes, is found to be yet more poignantly emphasized in the recognition of the widespread psychical anguish from which Hindus of all castes are suffering, through the weakening,—as a direct consequence of the atheistical, often, in fact, the antitheistical, system of public education we have enforced on the country,—of their faith and hope, and joy and gladness, in the gods of their forefathers.

Colonel King has more than once referred to the Code of Manu. From the first chapter to the last I know it as I know our English Bible; and I regulated my whole intercourse with my Hindu friends in India by it; and I always found it a wonderful mediator between myself and them. Like our—Israel's—Old Testament, it is draughted throughout in conformity with the soundest principles of philanthropy, as distinguished from the impulses of a visionary humanitarianism, and while frankly recognizing that all men are equal before God, it as clearly recognizes that they are altogether unequal between themselves, and regulates their mutual relations in the closest concordance with this flagrant and offensive fact, the ignoring of which, during the period of their racial decline, A.D. 100-400, so greatly contributed to the downfall of the pagan Romans; and to the political impotency of all the states of Islam, that in succession rose and fell in Anterior Asia, and Africa, and in Eastern and Western Europe, and in Central and Southern Asia; and again, to the degradation of Christian Spain in Mexico and South America. It is the caste system of the Code of Manu—notwithstanding its failure to protect the Hindus from the evils of miscegenation—that alone has preserved to them intact their unique system of social economy and religious polity,—both as compatible with Christianity as with paganism,—through nearly 1,000 years, from Mahmoud of Ghazni to Sivaji, of the direst political revolutions and military disasters;



and if ever they repudiate it, it will mean their social and religious destruction and their extinction as an historical race; and stand to the enduring discredit of England as an Imperial power. It is due to the Code of Manu that the Hindus are personally, and domestically, and communally, the cleanest and healthiest people in the world. Where else do you see such splendid teeth as in the mouths of the Hindu men and women? And where is long, lustrous hair so crowning a glory to woman as among the Hindus? And what stronger witnesses can there be than these to the health of individuals, and communities, and races? If enthusiastic sanitarians in India will only seriously study the "Code of Manu," edited by the late Professor George Buhler, as the twenty-fifth volume of "The Sacred Books of the East" (the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1886), they will soon learn to find in it the justification of every reasonable sanitary "reform" they would wish to recommend. Lord Elphinstone in particular, and also Sir George Russell Clerk, and Sir Bartle Frere, whenever they had to deal with any proposals likely to prove objectionable to the scruples of the Hindus, used always to hold consultations on them with scholarly Englishmen, such as the Reverend and Learned Doctor John Wilson, of the Free Kirk, Bombay, and their *shastris* ("instructors") and *pandits* ("learned men"), who nearly always were able to give advice, which not only deprived the contemplated measures of all offence, but won for them the approval of the most orthodox, even the most bigoted, Hindus.

I am entirely opposed to the idea of beggaring public education in India for the richer endowment of public sanitation in India. Both education and sanitation in India must be extended *pari passu* with each other; but much more on vernacular than arbitrary foreign lines; when at once the Code of Manu would be found the powerful mediator of a new covenant in sanitation between our English scientists and educated Indians, Hindus, and Moslems; a covenant, moreover, which would open an unlimited field of occupation for English educated young Indians, and provide for them in unrestricted numbers for the next three or four generations. I am also very strongly of opinion that public sanitation in India would be both more economically and effectually administered by the municipal and other local authorities, than directly by the Government of India. The beneficent effects of such a reform—educational and sanitary—would be quite magical.

COLONEL WILKINSON said that he had not come prepared to speak, and as he was still an official of the Government perhaps it was not wise for him to do so, but he would like to say, in strong support of Colonel King, that his very long experience gave him every right to say what he had said. He had a still stronger right, and that was that his teachings in Madras had now been accepted by the Government of India, and had been circulated throughout India as the model upon which other Provinces were to base their methods of sanitation. (Hear, hear.)

MR. B. DUBÉ said that he made no pretence to understanding the science of sanitation or medicine, but he confessed that the lecture had produced a very great impression upon his mind. He felt that it was a serious indictment against the Government of India, which had not done



as much as it ought to and might have done. To his mind, what stood out most prominently was that the Government of India had had advice from the Royal Commission and other sanitary authorities as to the urgency and the necessity for reforms in sanitation, but owing to certain fictions, such as the idea that the people had some prejudices, they had not bestowed that attention on the subject which its importance deserved. The prejudices that existed could be removed very easily by educating the people as to the value of sanitation. Neither the religion of the Hindus nor that of the Muhammadans taught anything but what was pure sanitation; it was not as if they were barbarous races, quite the contrary: their cleanliness was very hard to beat. That being so, the question of prejudice to his mind did not seriously exist.

Then again, nothing could be more absurd than that the Sanitary Department should be only a miscellaneous item of the Education Department. It was not only the people of India who had prejudices, but the brainy pundits in England had theirs as well. Surely it was impossible to say the poor would get poorer and the rich richer as a result of adopting scientific methods of sanitation, education, etc. He thought there would be no difficulty in living down that form of prejudice.

The Government of India ran after too many things—even to the changing of capitals; they were very fond of spending millions which they could not even estimate. When they found a Government spending money on extravagances and ignoring for the time being the needs of sanitation and education, it was simply foolish to say they had not got the money for it. The primary duty of every Government was to look after the health, both bodily and mental, of the producers of wealth—*i.e.*, the ryots of India. The Government of India had adopted a machinery which gave better conditions to the towns by appointing Commissioners of Health. But it seemed to him the primary duties were neglected. He trusted the lecture would receive the serious attention of the Government of India which it so richly deserved. (Hear, hear.)

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said he had enjoyed the lecture immensely; it was an exceedingly important lecture concerning the well-being of India, and he regretted the absence of ladies, because he wished to say that it was largely to the devotion of a woman that Indian sanitation came to the front. (Hear, hear.) He referred to the late Florence Nightingale, whom he had the pleasure of knowing quite intimately, and with whom he had spent hours in discussing Army questions. Undoubtedly she was the saviour of the health of the Army—she forced the War Office, when she came back from the Crimea and Scutari, with great courage to deal with sanitary matters. In his opinion, she was the greatest woman citizen England had ever produced. The result of her intervention had been that the improvement in the health of the Army had been an enormous gain to the Army and to the nation. In olden days the Army Medical Corps, he admitted, were largely crushed by ignorance in high places. He instanced the cases of Lord Wolseley in Egypt, who ran down the sanitary service, and General Buller in South Africa, who took no sanitary officers out with him. He was glad to see now, however,

that the sanitary service of the Army was stronger than it had ever been, and it was due to this direct application of knowledge that human progress had come. No doubt they would remember how Lord Palmerston crushed the prejudices of Scotch authorities. When cholera came to the town of Peebles, they said they must have a form of prayer to abolish the cholera. Lord Palmerston wrote back: "Go back and clean your middens!" In India he had seen one hundred soldiers die in a year of cholera, as many as twelve dead in one tent at one time; and cholera was the very acme of insanitation. Happily, the health of the English soldier in India had never been so good as it was to-day.

He hoped that the lecture would be printed in the vernaculars, and that it would be sent all over the Indian continent.

MR. SARMA said that his only excuse to speak on the subject must be that he belonged to the Province of Madras, for which the lecturer had done so much. He could assure them that his name was a household word in Madras, and that everyone there recognized the good work that had been done by him. They were under a great obligation to him, and also to the East India Association, for the lecture, and they all hoped that good results would follow from it. The Indian members of the Legislative Councils had been urging on the Provincial Governments to take more interest in the question of sanitation than they had done in the past. So far as personal cleanliness in India went, the Indian people were very cleanly in their habits, but it must be admitted that from a communal point of view they had a great deal to learn from Europeans; they would have to teach them the way to lead cleanly lives when they were congregated in large villages and towns.

He thought two departments—the medical and the sanitary departments—must be divorced from one another; the lecturer had laid great stress upon that, and he believed the Government of India were alive to the immediate necessity for that separation. One reason given why the Government of India had not tackled the problem was its immensity, and the question as to where the money was to come from. The question rested upon this: that more capital must be invested in India. Where it was to come from was immaterial, but there was the net factor to be faced that more money must be forthcoming for the creation of a sanitary service. As chairman of a municipality, he had had to fight cholera and small-pox, and he found the men who had been trained under Colonel King's scheme were immensely valuable in helping him. He did not think the people of India were prejudiced against modern scientific methods, because in the case of small-pox epidemic their cry had been: "Give us more vaccinators."

In conclusion, he could only repeat that the Government had the problem before them of—Where was the money to come from? That seemed to be the crux of the whole question. They recognized that the problem had to be dealt with, and he was sorry to see that Colonel King had attacked the educational standpoint of the Government of India to such a large extent. They must remember that the people of India were so miserably poor that they could not be taxed for these numerous im-

provements that were suggested. In some villages women were to be found who were willing to work for the miserable pittance of one penny per day. The moment cholera or plague attacked these people, hundreds perished because they were so poor. By neglecting sanitary precautions they had undoubtedly been losing all along the line.

MR. GHULAM-AMBA K. LUHANI said he would like to emphasize the need of a clearly-defined sanitation policy on the part of the Government of India. Considering that millions were carried away every year by cholera and small-pox, it was really very remarkable how the Government could have tolerated such a policy as they had done.

Colonel King had referred to two difficulties urged in defence of the Government's halting policy, or lack of policy, in sanitation: firstly, the question of prejudice; and, secondly, the question of finance. Sir George Birdwood had referred to the plea as to the difficulty which the Government experienced in forcing on the people sanitary measures. Cleanliness was next to godliness, and those who were familiar with the principles which guided the Indian in his social customs would readily admit that this plea was rather a weak one. The lecturer had referred to the inordinate amount of attention which was given to the question of education. While not supporting him in that statement, he (the present speaker) would surely urge the creation of a new department for sanitation. He did not think that was too much to demand in a matter so vitally connected with the health of the people, and he thought Colonel King's paper was a move in the right direction. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, stated: It has been suggested by one of the speakers that education should be concomitant with sanitation. With this opinion I need not say I heartily agree, seeing that it is the argument I have tried to enforce; and I think nothing I have said is in discord with that opinion, or opposed to the supposition that, in India, were the admittedly limited available public funds impartially distributed between the two important requirements of sanitation and education, the latter would not always be to the sanitarian a welcome ally. What I have attempted to represent is, that the Government of India have accepted the fallacy of the Education Department that, in rural areas, education must precede effective sanitary efforts, and that education enthusiasts, taking advantage of the historical hesitation of the Government of India to advance sanitation, have, under the cover of this fallacy, assumed a control of sanitation which is professionally incongruous, contrary to sound statesmanship, and inconsistent with the relative importance of sanitation and education in the economic progress and successful administration of India or of any other country. I hold, I think justly, whilst I have acknowledged education as one of the factors in advancing hygiene during the last fifty years in India, that, under the present *régime*, education is the *financial* enemy of sanitation. I have said that in no part of the world, except India, has it been required that sanitation should halt—that education may precede it.

In further illustration of this universal experience, I would invite your attention to the recently published official Report by Lord Kitchener, on the progress of Egypt in 1913. This displays no lack of appreciation of

education, but, nevertheless, there is no halting in pushing forward schemes for sanitary and economic progress, on the "wait and see" policy of education. Nor, whilst Lord Kitchener rightly lays down that research as to the nature of diseases will yet teach us much, and must be encouraged to the full limit of available funds, does he hesitate to employ *practically*, and at once, such knowledge as is available for the benefit of the people. Indeed, in Egypt, research is not to proceed, as I have said is the case in India, in "vicious circles"; nor will it afford brilliantly gilded excuses for the absence of *applied* hygiene. The description given in this Report of the evil conditions of the Egyptian villages, might well be written of those throughout large areas of India. But, whether the schoolmaster be there or not, Lord Kitchener has definitely stated his intention of taking in rural areas what I have insisted is the first step of effective sanitary effort, namely, the organization of an executive sanitary service. In this case, there will be sanitary inspectors for groups of every ten villages; whilst registration and vaccination are now attended to by a lower grade of indigenous labour with elementary sanitary training. Alluding to a campaign against anchylostomiasis, he points to the *essential of conservancy* in villages, and indicates his intention of this being at once attended to. Yet, not one per cent. of villages, in which the bulk of the total population in India resides, has any attempt at conservancy; although intestinal parasites are so common amongst the inhabitants that they commonly ignore their significance, while dysentery, diarrhoea, and cholera claim, annually, about 400,000 lives. In short, Lord Kitchener—an admitted master of organization—has arranged, in the language of the Report, that "education will go hand-in-hand with sanitation"—not *precede it*. Nor, in Egypt, will curative medicine be confused with the rôle of the sanitarian; for Lord Kitchener holds, "the building and the equipping of our hospitals for the treatment of diseases is undoubtedly a worthy and indeed a necessary object, but it fails to strike at the root of the matter. . . . Prevention is better than cure," and, after indicating the necessity for further research, he states, "In the meantime, we are justified in taking up immediately active preventive measures to combat the prevalent diseases I have mentioned; and steps in this direction have already been taken and will be pushed on with vigour."

Sir George Birdwood refers to "prejudices," and tells us of difficulties attending the introduction of mortality statistics in Bombay. The people were asked to accept what, to them, was a mere abstract idea, and one has at once an illustration of the hopelessness of teaching hygiene in the slum environment, against which the authorities quoted by me inveigh. Just as the people could not realize the benefit of statistics, so, at the hands of schoolmasters, they will fail to esteem the benefit of public anti-malarial measures and of protected water supplies, when presented to them as something to imagine—not to see. But Sir George Birdwood laid no stress on the important fact that, notwithstanding the "prejudices," the Government did its duty to the people by requiring the measures to be carried out; just as unfounded "prejudices" have not prevented them finishing a bridge, for the sound structure of which the people held a human sacrifice was necessary; or from proceeding with the relief of the

famine-stricken, although they bolted by the thousand in fear of being exported bodily to the Mauritius. Such "prejudices," if not engineered, disappear, as I have said in respect to caste, by calm dissection of rights; and, if engineered, they are but some of the thousands of equally readily available opportunities not confined to the realms of sanitation. In short, Sir George Birdwood's reference helps us to realize that academic education, when unaided by demonstration, has but a poor sphere of utility. The Agricultural Department has long grasped this truth when dealing with the ryot. According to Mr. Wood, of Madras, mere talk has little effect; what the ryot desires is to be shown actually (and economically) improved crops. Similarly, the true way of teaching a rural population the benefits of sanitation is to stay their epidemics, and improve their environments; and I can here testify, within my own experience, that not only is the utility of sanitation thus easily forced home, but, with the conviction, there is appreciation and gratitude which can be excelled by no race. For this work, the Sanitary Inspector, the technically trained man of the people and in constant contact with them, is the most suitable schoolmaster, even if allied with the primary school product. Nor is it only the ryot that can be educated by demonstration. It is the quickest way to deal with the 2,000 per annum supply of graduates furnished by the Education Department of India, who have hitherto displayed eagerness in little but education and abstract politics, and seem to forget that the "lifting of the masses" can be most rapidly acquired, not solely by primary schools, but by economic development, coupled with *applied* hygiene. Curiously enough, the Education Department, which is in charge of Museums, has ignored the influence of demonstration upon the educated by supplying Museums of Hygiene; although, as far back as 1882, as Special Sanitary Officer for Madras City I officially pleaded for this method of education, and subsequently attempted its realization. Similarly, Industrial Exhibitions are essential as part of *educational demonstration*, in inducing the floating of capital for development of trade and commerce.

I am naturally highly gratified to find that so great an authority on Hinduism as Sir George Birdwood agrees with me in thinking that it is perfectly possible, within the lines of caste rulings, to institute an efficient system of modern hygiene.

I have to thank Colonel Wilkinson and Mr. Surma for their kind reference to my long connection with sanitation under the Government of Madras, and to assure the latter gentleman that I look back with the greatest pleasure to the kindly manner in which my recommendations were treated by the various public authorities concerned with sanitation, of whom he is himself, as a municipal chairman, an able representative; and to add that as I have not, in my retirement, lost my warm regard for the people of my old Presidency, I am glad to find that as I built on the foundations laid by my predecessors, so my successors are strenuously continuing the good and humane work of disease prevention. The life-saving results thus secured have served to confirm my thesis as to the advantage of co-operation of education with sanitation—as a friendly department serving



the same Government—as contrasted with the professionally and financially unjustifiable supremacy of education now enforced by the Government of India.

MR. R. F. CHISHOLM: In proposing a hearty vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to the chairman, I feel certain that I express the views of everyone present when I say that we have listened to a most able and interesting lecture. The learned lecturer has placed his views of sanitation before us in so lucid a manner as to promote a full discussion, and we all leave this room much wiser on the subject than when we entered it. I feel certain you do not want to hear anything from me on the subject of sanitation! I would only beg leave to make one remark. Sanitation seems to be involved with municipal work. I do not exactly know how it will bear on the subject, but Fah Hien, a Buddhist traveller, came to Delhi in the fourth century of our era, and recorded this statement: "There are no municipalities, and the people are happy!"

In seconding the vote of thanks, Dr. Pollen said that the Association was deeply indebted to Professor Simpson for his kindness in presiding. He was a master of the subject dealt with, and had rendered noble service to the cause of sanitation in various parts of the world. Dr. Pollen cordially agreed with his friend, Surgeon-General Evatt, in considering the paper with which Colonel King had favoured them, one of the most important papers in connection with the well-being of the peoples of India that had ever been read before the Association. He noted with full appreciation what Colonel King had said in his reply about the objection raised by Sir George Birdwood with regard to effective sanitation on the grounds of undue increase of population. Dr. Pollen was one of those who held the view that India was in no sense over-populated. No doubt there was congestion in parts, and the population was badly distributed, but the Empire of India could afford to increase and multiply with confidence without putting any undue strain on its resources, provided social customs were amended and sanitary laws stimulated and enforced by the people themselves. Nature had never yet, in any country, refused to respond to the demands made upon her by increased population, but opened up everywhere sources of supply from her hidden treasures previously undreamt of by mankind. He believed in the First Commandment, with promise: "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, and you will subdue it." He begged to second the vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, and this was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said: There is only one matter I would like to point out, and that is in reference to sanitation and education. We have no objection to education, but what we do object to is very nicely put by an Indian gentleman, who said, with reference to education and sanitation being under the Minister of Education, it was like a man having two wives. Upon one—education—he showered all his favours, and only gave a small dole to sanitation—the other—when the public eye was upon him. (Laughter.)

The proceedings then terminated.



## JAPAN SOCIETY

A PAPER on "Chinese Influence on Japanese Lacquer" was read by Dr. A. A. Breuer, M.R.C.S., on Wednesday, May 13, 1914. The paper deals with the few shreds of information pertaining to the connection between Chinese lacquer-work and the Japanese lacquer previous to the sixteenth century. The use of lacquer juice as a means of decoration, or for the waterproofing of leather armour, is recorded in Chinese literature as far back as the Book of Odes. It has been further proved by the discoveries of Stein. Dr. Breuer has for some time given his attention to collecting Chinese lacquer, and specimens from his collection formed a conspicuous display at the Chinese Art Exhibition held at Whitechapel last year. He was fortunate in obtaining from Dr. Kummel the loan of a manuscript work on Japanese lacquer, written by Professor Noritake, Tsuda of Tokyo, and thus to supplement the information gathered from the writings of the Jesuits and other sources.

Chinese lacquer consists chiefly of painted lacquer and incised lacquer (the latter were being often a *lac* composition rather than true urushic varnish), and inlaid lacquer on which mother-of-pearl forms the designs. The first style has been vastly improved upon in Japan, where the pictorial treatment has brought about refinements of technique and variety of design wholly foreign to the Chinese. Incised and carved "lacquer," red or red and black, have remained to this day a truly Chinese article, well known under the names of *Tsuishu*, *Tsuikoku*, and *Peking lacquer*.

The author has shown a fair grasp of his subject, but one can sympathize with him in his desire for more accurate information. It is doubtful, however, whether that will be forthcoming. The Japanese records appear to have been thoroughly sifted, and it remains for the sinologues to supply further details. The collection treasured in the Shosoin gives an inkling of the high state of perfection of many arts in the T'ang period, during which the articles were sent to Japan; but we know little or nothing of their actual origin, or which part of China they came from. The troubled state of Japan, and the internal wars at various times during the ninth to the sixteenth century, militated greatly against even the Shosoin collection being entirely respected. Relations with China were often broken and renewed; but little is known of the presents sent from China during the Yuan and early Ming periods, except

by allusions in the literature; it is known that Japanese lacquered articles went then to China. The paper is a useful contribution to the study of the subject, and it is hoped that it may be enlarged upon when more information is at hand. At present Chinese lacquering, as carried out in Foochow, is but a paltry reflection of the glorious technique which has made Japanese lacquer a thing of unique beauty. How little self-styled "experts" know of the subject is sometimes incredible. An "art" paper recently gave it in an "Answer to Correspondents" that "Japanese lacquer was distinguishable from Chinese by the introduction of Fuji Yama in the designs." Now both the inquirer and his informant have a good chance to know better.

HAKUSAI.

## THE ALLEGED ATROCITIES OF THE GREEKS IN MACEDONIA\*

ON May 6 last a letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* making such extraordinary charges against the Greeks in Macedonia, that Colonel Haywood, a member of the Council of the Anglo-Hellenic League, at once took steps to prove them. He wrote to Mr. A. Pallis, a prominent member of the League, and a man of excellent standing in England, then travelling in Macedonia, and asked him to investigate them. Mr. Pallis embodied the results of his investigations in the form of a memorandum to Colonel Haywood, of which the following is a brief outline. He takes the charges one by one.

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote:—

1. "A Servian officer, Kosta Simitch, stationed with a detachment on the Greco-Servian frontier, and apparently ignorant of the policy pursued by his own Government, sent in recently to his superiors an indignant report of the daily outrages carried out by the Greeks in the neighbourhood, and of the numerous dead bodies of Bulgars which are thrown almost every night by the Greeks into Servian territory."

This was taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie* of April 1-14, which wrote as follows:—

"The commanding officer of a Servian detachment stationed on the Greco-Servian frontier has lately

\* With acknowledgments to the Anglo-Hellenic League.

found, in different parts of his district, decomposing bodies. The commanding officer decided to take action.

"However, by order of the Government, M. Kosta Stoganovitch, ex-Minister, and still 'Chef de la Commission de l'accès serbe à l'Archipel,' gave the over-scrupulous commanding officer to understand that, on account of high State interests, these atrocities of their neighbours on the south must be overlooked."

This is what appeared in the *Echo de Bulgarie*. The writer in the *Manchester Guardian* has further embellished this by stating that numerous dead Bulgarians were thrown into Servian territory "almost every night," and that there were daily outrages carried out by the Greeks.

However, M. Kosta Simitch noticed the report of the *Echo de Bulgarie*, and wrote to the Salonika paper, *La Liberté*, the following letter, which appeared in its issue of April 4-17, in which the following passages occur:—

(1) I am not the commanding officer of a Servian detachment, but the Customs officer at Ghevgheli.

(2) As Customs officer I have not to make circuits on the frontier, and consequently I could not make the discovery which is attributed to me.

(3) That, knowing nothing of corpses being discovered, I could not make any report to Mr. Stoganovitch.

(4) For the same reason I had no representations to make to the Government.

Consequently, all these sensational statements connected with my name by the Bulgarian Press are pure inventions.

K. K. SIMITCH.

I have seen the original of this letter.

I am afraid that whoever has supplied the *Manchester Guardian* writer with this information thought that he had to deal with credulous persons. Because, what would be

the excuse for throwing dead Bulgars so constantly into Servian territory? Are the Greek authorities compelled to proclaim their evil deeds by showing their victims to the Servians?

2. "At Salonika, where the Bulgarian population is small, Greek agents visit them at their houses, and demand that they should publicly renounce their nationality, and embrace the true orthodox faith. Otherwise they are given twenty-four hours within which to quit the city."

This was also taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie*.

In order to hear what the Bulgars themselves had to say, I called at the warehouse of the principal Bulgarian merchant of Salonika, Mr. Hadji-Mitcheff, whose nephew, I understand, was the Bulgarian representative at Athens at the time of the declaration of the Greco-Bulgarian war.

When I read out the above extract to him, he at once told me there was not a word of truth in it. Then I asked, "Has anybody visited your house or your warehouse with such a demand?"

"No, no one."

"Have you been molested in any way?"

"No. Two days after the Greeks captured the Bulgarian garrison in Salonika this warehouse was opened, and neither then nor ever since have we been molested in any way. Why," he said, reaching for a parcel from one of the shelves, "here are Bulgarian flags—I have fifty-two of them in stock; nobody has taken any objection to my stocking them."

"What is, then, the reason for so many Bulgars leaving Salonika?"

"Because of a dislike to live in a Greek territory. Look at what is stated in this newspaper"—the Greek newspaper *Phos*—"against the Bulgarian nation; exactly the same things are reciprocated in the Sophia newspapers against the Greeks. In this way the poison of mutual dislike has

penetrated too deeply, and it makes it quite unbearable for Bulgars to live among Greeks, or for Greeks to live in Bulgaria."

"Are your churches closed?"

"No, there is one open."

On hearing this, I proceeded to the Bulgarian church. I there asked a Bulgarian priest: "Is there a service here every Sunday?"

"Yes, at eight o'clock."

"Carried on in Bulgarian?"

"Yes."

"Do the police molest you?"

"No. On the contrary, a police officer visits us here every evening, and he has told us that if anybody interferes with us, we are to report to him, and he will punish him.

3. "The Salonika and other prisons in the neighbourhood are crowded with Bulgarians, who would not yield to these conditions, and a number of them, including a priest named Christo Shapcareff, have succumbed to the foul conditions obtaining there."

This was also taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie*.

I have visited the chief prison here—that of Yedi-Koule—which is within the old fort on the top of Salonika, and here are the numbers of the inmates:—

Greeks and Turks, 320 (in about an equal proportion).

Jews, 24.

Bulgars, 20.

At the other prison of Salonika, that of St. Elias, where prisoners are kept awaiting trial, I found five Greek-speaking Bulgarians.

I asked some of the Bulgarians in the Yedi-Koule prison as to the crimes for which they were undergoing punishment. Not one of them said that he was there because he would not renounce his nationality.

With regard to the deaths of Bulgarian prisoners, I have



examined the register kept at the prison hospital, and found that their number, from the beginning of the year, has been five, inclusive of the priest Christo.

4. "Again, what is said of the Bulgarians is also true of the Muhammadans, and even, to a certain extent, of the Jews."

The way this paragraph is expressed shows how careless and loose the writer is in stating facts. One would have concluded therefrom that also Muhammadans and Jews are asked to join the Greek Church, and that any one who refuses is expelled within twenty-four hours. But I am sure the writer does not mean this, but only that the Muhammadans, and, to a lesser extent, Jews, are very tyrannically ill-used.

I will deal with the Jews first.

I went straight to the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Meyr. When I translated to him what is stated in the *Manchester Guardian*, he said gravely: "It is nothing but lies. You can say from me, it is nothing but lies."

"Are the Israelites molested?"

"They have never been molested since the Greek occupation. For two or three days after the Greek troops entered Salonika, some small thefts took place; these I brought to the notice of Prince Nicholas, and the matter was put right at once."

"I understand, then, that the Jews have got no grievance against the Greek Administration?"

"None whatever. We rather felt it as a hardship that we were obliged to close on Sundays, but when we brought this before Mr. Venizelos, he gave orders for us to be allowed to open on Sundays, and now we are absolutely contented."

I asked, then, whether there is an undue proportion of Jews in prison, and His Eminence told me that at the Jewish Easter he inquired at the prison—the St. Elias prison—as to the number of Jews detained there, so as to

send them unleavened bread; he found that the total number was six, whereas there were eighty Greeks. Considering that there are more Jews than Greeks in Salonika, the small proportion of Jews in prison rather points, I think, to leniency on the part of the police, and bears out what His Excellency the Governor-General has assured me of, that Jews in Salonika are the object of special solicitude on the part of the Government.

With regard to the Muhammadans, as I stated before, the number of prisoners in the Yedi-Koule prison is about the same as that of the Greeks. I asked several Turkish prisoners what the nature of their crime was, and in no single instance was I told that it was the result of persecution. They are the ordinary cases of burglary, larceny, etc.

I asked whether it was true that at Serres, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, the Moslem schools were taken from them and converted into Greek schools, and they said that as the Greek schools were burnt by the Bulgars, the Greek authorities did, by arrangement, take the Turkish schools, but paid rent.

Wishing to know how order was maintained in Salonika when formerly disorder was rife, I asked the Cretan Captain of the gendarmerie whether there were days when his bulletin was blank, and he told me that such was frequently the case. As to murder, the last one was committed more than a year ago, a Jew having quarrelled with a Greek soldier, and stabbed him. In fact, the orderly appearance of Salonika is unmistakable.

## REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD MONTET

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### THE HEBRAIC LANGUAGE—THE OLD TESTAMENT— MANICHEISM

WE have to mention and to recommend a new review, the aim of which is to promote the study of the Hebrews: "La Revue Hébraïque,"\* edited by M. Gloutch, one of the students of Hebraism, who, as far as our experience goes, is the best writer in the tongue of the Old Testament.

L. Gautier has published a second edition of his "Introduction à l'Ancien Testament."† It is an excellent work, quite scientific in character, in which the results of the researches into the Old Testament are weighed and discussed. We cannot recommend it too highly to our readers.

Professor E. Naville, in a work of the greatest interest,‡ puts forward an opinion as original as it is paradoxical. He tries to prove that the Old Testament was not written in Hebrew, but in Babylonian Cuneiform. He bases this astounding hypothesis on the fact that the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna prove that in the epoch of the eighteenth

\* Paris: E. Leroux.

† Two vols. Lausanne: G. Buidel et Cie.

‡ "Archæology of the Old Testament: Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew?" London: Robert Scott, 1913.

Egyptian Dynasty—that is, a short time before Moses—the language written in Palestine was Babylonian Cuneiform. That is what might be called a gratuitous statement; the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna show that Babylonian Cuneiform was the official and international language: they prove nothing more. As to maintaining that Hebrew was nothing more than the dialect of a very small district (Jerusalem and its environs), and that the Hebrew Old Testament is only a translation from the Babylonian, that is disproved by the history of the Hebrew language and the originality of the text of the Old Testament. A student of Hebrew will never admit such statements. The fact is, it is in the interests of a very conservative thesis that E. Naville brings forward such paradoxes: it is to prove that the Pentateuch is Mosaic, written entirely by the hand of Moses in Babylonian Cuneiform. E. Naville is entirely ignorant of Old Testament criticism, to which he refuses to attach any value, whilst ingenuously asserting it in his book.

H. Gressmann has published a most valuable book on Moses and his times.\* It is arranged in four parts:

1. Analysis of tradition.
2. Facts from literary history (old songs, legends, etc.).
3. Facts from profane history (arrival of the Hebrews in Palestine and in Egypt, Goshen, Sinai).
4. Facts from religious history (the religion of the Hebrews before Moses, the works and religious institutions pertaining thereto, their form of worship, religion, and morality).

In the course of this bulky volume, a great number of problems and questions are raised and examined, and a scholarly solution is offered to many, in the light of criticism. We could not enter into the details of these learned studies; we shall only repeat a single sentence which appears to us as good as it is just: "On being

\* "Moses und seine Zeit, ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen." Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913.

transferred from Sinai to Jehoal, from being the God of nature, becomes a God of history."

We are delighted to bring to your notice a remarkable work on the text of Leviticus according to the Septuagint (manuscript versions of the LXX, quotations in the Fathers and in ancient writings, existing fragments of the Hexaples). The work is by Harold M. Wiener.\*

A. Causse has published a large and very interesting volume on "*Les Prophètes d'Israel et les Religions de l'Orient*."† The author endeavours to bring to light the origin of Israelite Monotheism. It is not, to be exact, an original work, but it is a work well and conscientiously done, which estimates all the scientific discoveries on this subject in recent years. The most interesting part of the work is where the author studies the discoveries of Monotheism which have been made in the ancient Orient (Egypt and Babylon). It is to be regretted that the author has not added Mazdeism. There are in his work some excellent pages on the Prophets and their monotheism.

Under the title of "*Recherches sur le Manichéisme*"‡ have appeared three very interesting studies by F. Cumont and M. A. Kugener. The first of these treats of the Manichean Cosmogony according to Theodore bar Khoni, Nestorian Bishop of Kashkam, from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. In an appendix F. Cumont writes an interesting study concerning the legend of "The Seduction of Archontes" and on the omophore that Theodore bar Khoni calls, "The bearer who, kneeling on one knee, supports the world." The second study, which is by M. A. Kugener, is an extract from the 123rd homily of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512 to 518), which is a refutation of the Manichean doctrine. We have this homily in a Syrian translation

\* "*Studies in the Septuagintal Texts of Leviticus*" (reprinted from the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*"), 1913-14.

† Paris: E. Nourey, 1913.

‡ Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1908-1912.

taken from a Greek version of the original Syrian text. In spite of this translation of a translation, the homily has been preserved for us in a form that is faithful to the original. The third study, by F. Cumont, is relative to a brief Greek inscription from the ruins of Salone, to the south of the Basilica Urbana (Dalmatia), which mentions—a very rare occurrence—the Manichean character of a virgin named Bassa.

#### THE ARAB LANGUAGE—ISLAM

Lieutenant M. Depui, of the French Colonial Infantry, has published an interesting French-Arab dictionary of the dialects spoken at Djibouti and in the neighbouring country, Dantali, Somali, in Yemen, and at Aden.\* The Arabic given in this collection is a combination of the dialects of the Yemen, Aden, and Egypt. We are delighted to notice, each time such publications appear, the study of the Arab tongue by the officers of the French colonies. There are in this picked corps some distinguished students of Arabic, who render great service in forwarding the knowledge of the Arabic language.

The first three volumes of the "*Chronographia Islamica*,"† by L. Castani, have appeared; they go from the year 1 to the year 65 of the Hegira. This publication will render the greatest services. For each year of the Hegira there is first of all a picture of concordance, day by day, with the Gregorian year. Then all the events of the year are enumerated in chronological order, and each of them is followed by a bibliographic note; finally the necrological events are given year by year, with a special bibliography for each death.

The second volume of "*L'Histoire des Arabes*,"‡ by L. Huart, published a few months since, covers the period from the Crusades to our own time. After having gone over the fortunes of the Mamalukes, the author gives the

\* Paris: E. Guilmots, 1913.

† Quarto. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913.

‡ Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913.



history of the Moslem empires and kingdoms in Spain, Morocco, Arabia, and the Soudan. We have read with special interest what he writes of Spain and the Soudan (the Mahdi). Three chapters of very great interest disclose the commercial and diplomatic relations of the Moslem states with the western powers, and the growth of literature and science amongst the Arabs. A valuable index is added to the volume; annexed is a chart which is unfortunately quite inadequate. The conclusion gives precise results that we shall condense into a few words: Islam, through all the wars that she has waged and the perpetual changes that she has undergone, has proved incapable of arriving at a stable and lasting state; that is, in fact, the present failure of Islam. But, on the other hand, the distinguished part that Arab language and literature have played and continue still to play assure to Islam a brilliant future and assign to her the task of moral teacher, not only to all the Moslem or Islamic peoples, but also to all those (and they are many) who are in the way to be converted to her.

"Islam and Socialism"\* is the title of a Moslem publication which comes to us from India, the author of which is S. Muslim Hosain Kidwai. It is an interesting work. The author formulates his thesis in the following manner: "To us (Moslems) Socialism means an organized, continuous, and harmonious co-operation of individuals in all the affairs of life, whether industrial or economic, administrative or political, social or religious, with a view to securing universal well-being and prosperity. The more general, the more brotherly, and the more equally balanced that co-operation is, the better would be the constitution of Socialism." It is certain—such is at least our conviction—that Islamism is a form of religion with a socialistic tendency, and that, consequently, slight points of agreement can be named between Islamism and Socialism, as it is understood in Europe. On this point, we go farther than

\* Printed at Allahabad, 1913 (Luzac and Co., London).

the author, who gives to the word Socialism a particular sense, differentiating it from European Socialism.

Some interesting publications on Islamism have appeared in Spain. The first is an erudite work on Moslem Law of Inheritance, according to the Malachite rite, by Jose A. Sanchez Perez.\* This treats of the very complicated question of Moslem succession, and has been written according to the manuscripts of the "Biblioteca del Centro de Estudios historicos à Madrid." Several plates give facsimile reproductions, in Arab and Spanish, of the tablets condensing the Moslem Malachite Law of Inheritance.

Professor Miguel Asin has published a work of great interest on the original Arab of "The Dispute of the Ass with Brother Anselmo Turmeda."† Fr. Anselmo, born in the island of Majorca in the middle of the fourteenth century, was ordained priest, went to Tunis, where he became a Moslem, and died there in the odour of sanctity in 1420. He wrote in Arab, towards the end of his life, a book of polemics against Christianity. Previously, he had written his treatise on the dispute of the ass, of which only a French translation remains, copies of which are extremely rare.‡ This encyclopædic treatise, which proves the profound acquaintance of its author with animals and their habits, is only, as M. Asin shows, plagiarized from an Arab work of the tenth century, "The Dispute of the Animals with Man," forming the twenty-first part of the Arab encyclopædia of the "Frères de la Pureté (Ikhwan Assafa), a philosophical association of the tenth century of the present era.§

\* "Particion de Herencias entre los Musulmanes del Malequi." Madrid, 1914.

† "El Original Arabe de la Disputa del Asno contra Fr. Anselmo Turmada (extracto de los 'Estudios de filologia romanica')." Madrid, 1914.

‡ "La Dispute d'une Asne contre Frère Anselme Turmeda." Pampe-luna, 1606.

§ Broctelmann, "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur," 1898.

## CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

BY H. L. JOLY

LES PÈRES DU SYSTÈME TAOISTE, by Dr. Leon Wieger, S.J.; LES VIES CHINOISES DU BUDDHA, same author, both published by *Guilmoto*, Paris, Rue de Mézières (1913-1914, n.d.). A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PHILOSOPHY, by Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki. (London: *Probsthain*. Price 5s.) 1914.

The study of Chinese philosophical systems and their interpretation into European languages is a task of such magnitude, and so thankless withal, that one almost wonders at the energy of the sinologists who, in the past, gave us translations of the classics. Thoughts clothed, or rather hidden, in a language at once vague and of apparently calculated obscurity were made known to us by Legge and others; but the French reader, notwithstanding Julien and Remusat, had little to draw upon in the way of translations until the advent of Couvreur, Chavannes, and Wieger. To the general reader, however, the extensive translations and commentaries are needless. In these days of hustle, short, readily assimilated books receive the greatest favour, and this has been well understood by the publishers of various small handbooks giving the gist of the philosophical systems and religions of the Far East. Dr. Suzuki's brief history of early Chinese philosophy is probably intended for popular consumption. Its contents were originally printed in 1908 in the *Monist*, and after revision form three chapters, concerning themselves solely with the early teachings of Confucius and his school, Laotze and his followers, together with a sketch of Chinese religious conceptions. The author does not praise, nor does he condemn; his opinion of the Chinese is that, being a people not endowed with a speculative turn of mind, like that of the Hindus or the Greeks, their reasoning, however subtle, never wavers from a practical earthly groove. He tells us that "they refuse to be carried up to a Heaven where pure ideas only exist"; and that "another thing which is sadly lacking in the Chinese mind is logic," leaving the reader to puzzle for himself the correlation between the two statements. The history of early Chinese philosophy previous to the fall of the Han dynasty consists chiefly in the antagonistic influences of Confucius and Laotze, until 213 B.C., when Buddhism, finding its way to the Middle Kingdom, spread quickly,

and, in a way, grafting itself upon the Taoist teachings, prepared the revival of literary and artistic splendour of the later Tang and Sung dynasties. The first chapter of Dr. Suzuki's little book takes us through the primitive speculations on the dualistic *Yin - Yang*, hidden in the puzzling pages of the "Yi King," then unfolds the severely practical positivism of Confucius and the doctrine of the *Tao*, principle of the whole Universe, expounded in Laotze's "Tao Teh King," and in the works attributed to his followers. In this latter doctrine, the Buddhist idea of the Rokudo, the six everlasting recurrent states of existence exposed by Eshin Sōzu is adumbrated, the world appears to run in an eternal cycle, where necessity is the chief law; hence "those who either want to limit their life or aspire after an eternal life are equally wrong." Yet there is a difference, for the Taoists did not admit of a life after the earthly death, and their debased followers sought to obtain immortality in this world, to enjoy, with their body whole and sound, that which a questionable immortality after death did not promise. To that end the best means, as taught by Laotze ("Tao Teh King, 43), were inaction and silence, a *laissez-faire, laissez-aller*, taking the path of least resistance in all things. The man who followed only his own heart followed the Way (Tao). In the pages of Dr. Wiegner's "Pères du Système Taoiste" we find the original Chinese texts and the French translations of the "Tao Teh King," of the two works which complete its interpretation—the "Chung Hu Chen King" of Lieh Tsze, the "Nan Hwa Chen King" of Chwang Tsze, from the (Chinese) texts of which Dr. Suzuki has drawn many examples. Curiously enough, Lieh Tsze in one anecdote (I. 16) anticipates and refutes, all at the same time, Proudhon's dictum, "La propriété c'est le vol." Yes, says Hiang to his would-be imitator, all appropriation is theft; even life is the theft of some particles of the *Yin* and *Yang*. But to steal from Nature is a common duty, whereas to steal from man is reprehensible. The belief in the wholesome and pre-ordained interference of the *Tao* in the affairs of man is illustrated by the parable of the white calf, the whole trend of which recurs in another story, that of the horse of Saiwo.

Suzuki's second chapter deals with the ethics based upon Confucius' conception of *Jen* (jin, hito), meaning humanity and solidarity all in one, from which spring all virtues, but yet so abstract a term, and so involved in the Confucian manifold connotation, that the author seriously questions whether Confucius himself had a clear analytical comprehension of it! Dr. Suzuki does not seek to draw parallels between Confucian ethics and Japanese beliefs, but he quotes, on page 58, moral precepts which the Japanese have synthetized in the Three Mystic Apes conspicuous at Nikko, and there are other instances. Summing up the differences between the two schools, he sees in Confucius the representative of the Northern fighting races, in Laotze the son of the generous South, relying indolently upon the gifts of Nature. If Chinese philosophy verges towards the practical rather than the speculative, Chinese religion solves the problem of individual worship, with an admirably thorough delegation of the whole to the Emperor; he is the only person fit and proper to address either the nebulous Shang Ti or the equally vague Tien, which represent the supreme intelli-

gence and the starry heavens respectively. Heaven's vengeance upon the evil-doer was visited upon the right individual, without partiality, but the supreme being abstained from that personal, direct intercourse with the *ὁ πολλοί*, which characterizes the Semitic God. If, however, the exalted ruler of the nation was unworthy, if his rule degenerated into favouritism and tyranny, then the Ti or the Tien caused a more worthy person to overthrow the tyrant, and the mass of the people were divinely inspired to make clear the heavenly displeasure in an earthly manner. "Heavenly intelligence is shown in that of the people, and heavenly wrath in the anger of the people. Heaven sees as the people sees, hears as the people hear" ("Shu King," v. 1), and that wrath was, as the anger of all gods evolved from man's fancy, visited upon its object by death, desolation, and famine. Truly could Laotsze say, "the net of heaven gathers all, its meshes are wide, yet nobody escapes it;" and further, "Heaven is impartial, [if it were otherwise,] it would bestow rewards [now] upon the worthy," and his words will be found daily in modern mouths. In opposition to the positivism and the doctrine of inaction, Mutze taught a conception of a supreme being equally impartial, but more in harmony with the desire implied in Laotsze's complaint, that rewards should be forthcoming as well as punishments. Mutze's doctrine is that of a heavenly love, whose proof is found even in the punishment of offenders, with a will that is like a compass or a carpenter's rule, obedience to which is the law of Justice.

Criticism may, perhaps, be offered regarding the form in which these books are presented. Dr. Wieger's scholarly and indefatigable labours, regularly published under the imprimatur of the Zi-ka-wei College, suffer from the use of a poor paper and occasionally poor printing, not to mention hasty stitching. Dr. Suzuki's little book rejoices in a cloth cover and good paper, more than justified by its price, but the rejection of the notes at the end of the book—wretched artifice to reduce cost of printing at the expense of the reader's patience—is a bad blemish. One amusing misprint has found its way on page 148, making "ablation" of what should be "ablution," and on page 174 a Chinese character is missing. The book is, none the less, a remarkable exposition, in a small compass, of those systems which have so strongly influenced, not only Chinese thought, but Japanese civilization as well, for the Confucian school in Japan held a very important place in the Tokugawa period.

Turning now from the native philosophy to that imported from India, we welcome Dr. Wieger's edition of the Chinese texts bearing upon the life of the Buddha, the "*Cheu Kia Ju Lai Ying Hwa Lü*," in 208 chapters, written by Pao Ch'eng, a monk of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The Lives of the Buddha, more or less incomplete, and gathered from various sources, are fairly numerous. Some are recitatives, to be chanted by monks; others partake of a theatrical treatment; a few are historical; all are derived from Indian sources, the verbal or written originals being translated into Chinese, with more or less accuracy, personal names becoming almost meaningless strings of characters arranged in a phonetic manner, though the translators were less zealous than those of Tibet, who, according to Rockhill, actually translated the names into their own vernacular.

The original of Pao Ch'eng's version may have been Indian, but it seems more probable that the worthy monk made use of all that had been published before him, and weighing every objection, picking up every detail open to discussion, prepared a revised version in which the labours of his predecessors are carefully edited. His work is accordingly more clever from a Buddhist standpoint than the Burmese narrative translated by Bishop Bigandet. Comparison with Rockhill's *Life*, translated from Tibetan sources, shows considerable variations in the details as well as in the general plan. The division into separate chapters makes the Chinese book more convenient for reference, and will prove useful when Dr. Wieger publishes the other volumes of this series. With commendable forethought, unfortunately betrayed by somewhat poor technical execution, 144 illustrations have been provided, reproduced from a book published in 1808. Here we may comment upon the dignity of the compositions, evincing even at that late period some of the devout feeling so intense in the pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the mind wanders to another *Life of Buddha*, the "*Shaka Ichi dai Ki*" of Yamada Issai, illustrated by the Japanese artist Hokusai, where the compositions are as fantastic as the costumes, and dignity sacrificed to the mere *tours de force* of a skilled draughtsman. This latest contribution to the history of the Buddha, written in easy French, with the Chinese text on the opposite pages, deserves reading, not merely by students of Chinese, but by all those who take the slightest interest in Buddhism; and to those merely concerned with its pictorial representation the illustrations are of distinct value. We may mention, however, that the last scene (the death of Çakya) does not follow the well-known canonic composition of Wu Tao Tze, that the architecture and costumes are those of the Chia Ching period right through, and that the foliage of the Sala appears in some plates to have interchanged with that of the five-leaved pine-tree.



## THE TRUTH ABOUT BALKAN WAR CORRESPONDENTS

(Continued)

THE London Conference failed, the Bulgarian delegate said the war would be continued until the Turks acknowledged defeat, to emphasize which peace would only be made in Constantinople. Afterwards King Ferdinand appealed, without success, to the Great Powers against the occupation of Adrianople by the Turks. "I cannot believe that the Great Powers," he said, "who have attached their names to the Treaty of London can remain impassive under the insult placed upon them by Turkey"; but the Powers helped him not, and were much less appreciative than was the editor of the *Pall Mall*, who at the beginning of the war wrote that the country was indebted to the London newspapers which published Wagner's despatches, the most brilliant piece of journalism ever performed in any war.

The renewal of the war started under new management in Turkey, and incidentally it may be here mentioned that the unfortunate accident that befell Nazim Pasha was as foully reported, as was the news that he was foully murdered. The Bulgarian objective in the new campaign was to force the lines of Bulair, capture the peninsula of Gallipoli, thus opening up the Dardanelles for the passage of the Greek fleet, which, operating off Buyuk Tchekmedche, could shell the southern end of the Tchataldja lines, under

cover of which the Turkish flank could be turned, and a way into Constantinople opened. If the Bulgarians were delayed at Kirk Kilisse, detained at Lule Burgas, defeated at Tchataldja, they were paralyzed in the fighting trying to force the lines of Bulair from the 4th to the 9th of February.

After the fall of Adrianople on March 26, the general belief in Constantinople (where they all completely failed to realize how the Bulgarians were being exhausted) was that with the forces and guns released from Adrianople, the Bulgarians would make another attempt to force the lines of Tchataldja. The Turkish forces which had advanced in February and driven the Bulgarians out of their positions, were withdrawn to the lines again; but a division was left at Kalikratia on the Bulgarian side of Lake Buyuk Tchekmedche, near its entrance to the sea. The bait was tempting, and again, in Constantinople, fancy fears ran riot. The usually ill-informed Embassies again expected, even as late as the Sunday forenoon, March 30, to see the Bulgarians in Constantinople. On Friday, March 28, the Bulgarians opened the attack, and under cover of the night were successful in establishing their position. On Saturday morning, as the mist cleared, the Bulgarians found themselves caught in a trap, and at the same time the division at Kalikratia, under the command of General Khourchid, with Enver Bey as his Chief of Staff, delivered the counter-stroke. It was no disgrace to the Bulgarians, who stood, not on the order of going, but threw away their rifles and kits to facilitate their flight, for hell itself would not have stayed the onslaught of the Turks. Malignancy pursued the Turks, even in this, the last fight; for on the same day, Saturday, March 29, a London morning newspaper published the report of its Constantinople local correspondent: "News of disaster has been received from Tchataldja, although the Press is endeavouring to cover up the extent of the Turkish losses, it is reported that 10,000 Turks were surrounded at the southern end of the line and captured. The Grand Vizier has visited the Embassies

and begged for the favourable intervention of the Powers." A fortnight later, on April 14, the Bulgarians sent in a flag of truce, and asked for an armistice.

By the end of the war the Turks possessed a magnificent fighting army capable of sweeping all before them in the Balkan States, and the peace concluded with Bulgaria shows the magnanimity of their statesmen.

The nine months of war in the Balkans has, indeed, been the bloodiest in history. More or less official figures put the killed and wounded of the regulars at nearly half a million. Add to this the losses due to the irregulars, the massacres, deaths from sickness, and those left to die a lingering death, the total losses it may be safely guessed will not be so very far short of a million. Roumania has taught the Balkan States the best lesson, and the precedent will be the greatest factor for the peace of the future. Don't fight until the others have exhausted themselves.

#### THE FUTURE.

Prophets are at a discount; it is much more profitable to lay 100 to 1 against them than to waste time listening to their arguments. The majority view affairs from their own narrowed outlook, as did King James I., when told in reply to his question that the king of a Red Indian tribe in America had not been coronated, he sent out an expedition with all the regalia for the purpose. Unable to understand or appreciate such a kindness, the Red Indian chief thought it advisable to seek safety in the backwoods.

"The inexperienced statesmen of Constantinople," it was proclaimed, had made a blunder in reoccupying Adrianople; it was the duty of the Powers to compel the Turks to withdraw. Russia, it was further added, was taking steps to do so. "If Turkey should unhappily disregard the advice given her not to advance her frontier beyond the Enos-Midia line, it will not be possible to support the Ottoman Government in improving the administration and establishing Turkish finances on a sound

basis." With parrot-like reiteration it was said that Turkey "must be compelled to listen to reason; she is utterly exhausted, her finances are in the most terrible disorder, and unless she obtains money it is doubtful indeed whether she can retain her Asiatic possessions. Any loan to Turkey will go but a little way unless the Turks can be prevailed upon to place themselves under the tutelage of the Great Powers, and accept help, not only military but administrative, in reorganizing her whole government system," etc.

The comments of the cynic on this suggestion might be that the Murzsteg programme of 1903 entrusted to Austria and Russia to put down lawlessness in Macedonia, had it not been upset by the revolution of 1908, would have proved completely successful, as the rival Christian inhabitants there were, under such ægis, rapidly exterminating themselves.

The most appropriate rôle for Italy would be that of adviser to the Minister of Justice, for which she duly qualified by the mendacious reasons she advanced to justify her seizure of Tripoli. France's rôle without question is that of finance, for has she not the monopoly of lending money to Turkey, which must be spent under her supervision and for her sole benefit, and all that remains for the Turk is to pay sinking fund and interest. When the King of Greece thanked Germany through the Kaiser for the Greek victories, *Punch* depicted the latter as suddenly seized with the horrible thought that he must be referring to the German training of the Turkish army; and according to the cynic, it only remains for the captain of the Greek battleship *Averoff* to thank the British Admiralty for the loan of the specially selected officers who since the revolution in 1908 have been entrusted with the reorganization of the Turkish navy. Truly, indeed, "God only helps those who help themselves, and self-help is not a gift from one to another."

Enver Bey is an obsession to many. Every other week during the war he was either assassinated, murdered, or

suffered sudden death in some one form or another, but surely the height of ignorance of Turkish affairs was reached when the Press referred to "Enver Bey's Adrianople Army." Even a journal of great ability, and commanding the highest respect in the City of London, wrote that "Enver Bey had put an embargo upon half a million sterling advanced by the Tobacco Regie for paying official salaries, and had used the money instead for military purposes. The Great Powers could, if they pleased, prevent the Tobacco Regie and the Public Debt Commission from advancing money, and can insist that no loans shall be made to the Porte without their consent"; as great a travesty as if the Turkish public were told that Lloyd George had taken a million sterling out of the Bank of England to lay out his own private golf links in the South of France.

Until quite recently, Turkey has been despotically ruled, and in the past the Turks (as conquerors) sat down and exacted tribute from the subject races. Turkey can no more be charged in this respect now, than the present administration in India can be charged with the practices of Clive, and its first administrators under the old East India Company, or the present Government charged with carrying on the bloody rule of Cromwell in Ireland. Unfortunately the prevailing belief in England about the Turks is more erroneous than if the Turks were to believe that the toll of the Seigneur was still exacted in this country by the Lord of the Manor, although it was abolished by George III. It takes a generation, it is said, to acquire new ideas, but evidently many to eradicate the old. Far from Turkey putting itself under the tutelage of the Powers, its greatest curse to-day is the Powers. Give us our commercial freedom has been the despairing cry of the thinking Turk. As well ask the tiger to give up its prey. The Powers will give up nothing. Turkey's greatest hope now is, that the Powers, having got over the Balkan crisis without a war amongst themselves, but with damaged

reputations, will leave the Balkan States to stew in their own juice, and if the Turks seize their freedom as they seized Adrianople, and with the same firm determination to hold it, the public sense of fairness will stultify the Powers as it stultified them when the almost unanimous chant of the inspired Press was, that the Turks must be expelled from Adrianople. Every country in Europe ordains it's own Custom tariff; that of Turkey is regulated by the Powers to serve their own selfish ends. Where is the justice, when one of the ablest authorities, a British adviser engaged by the Turkish Administration, affirms that with her commercial freedom, Turkey could raise a greater revenue, which would be much less burdensome to the people and more beneficial to trade. The *fait accompli* is Turkey's best argument and from which, only fools would refrain.

Mr. Shuster in Persia should be an object lesson to Turkey. He was specially recommended by the American Government as duly qualified to reorganize the Persian finances; he was driven from the country in a few short months, because the Russian Government had made up its mind that the Persian finances should not be reformed, and the only charge that could be brought against him was that he was lacking in tact. The Turkish Administration "cannot continue to exist in anarchy without some kind of tolerable government. It is useless to set it upon its legs again—order must first be restored—there must be European Administrative officials who will stand no nonsense"—and this from a writer of more than usual ability. Here he plays the rôle of the dear old lady whose concern for the goldfish led her to put hot water into their bowl one winter's day, and was grievously surprised when they died. "Saints" said the Dean of Durham at the Church Congress, "had a bad record as Statesmen, and Christian principles had sometimes been applied most effectively by men who were not themselves Christians."

In the United States of America, for example, there is more political and financial corruption in a day than in



Turkey in a generation. So far, Turkey has been plundered right and left, under the cant of the introduction of Reforms. The "Saints" have so far proved ghastly failures, and Turkey's salvation lies in preaching from the text of "To Hell with Reforms," and the adoption of the motto "The Prosperity of the People," for a prosperous people can live without harm under the most accursed government in existence, for without it, a heaven-devised administration is a ghastly failure. Do not the Conservatives call the present Liberal Government the most damnable that the country has ever been cursed with, and the Liberals when in Opposition are no less complimentary to the Conservatives, in spite of which the country goes on prospering by leaps and bounds.

Turkey is not utterly exhausted as represented, for some generations her military forces have never been so powerful as when she made peace with Bulgaria. Neither are her finances in terrible disorder. For two years she has been at war, first with Italy, and then with the Balkan States. Her credit was reduced to the lowest, and money was more than a pressing need. She was able to borrow some small sums, but only on first-class security. The total account, plus the necessary capital to make good the wear and tear to the country by the war, is covered by the £28,000,000 loan that has been arranged for in Paris. If, as stated, she effects an annual saving of some £2,000,000 by being relieved of the European provinces, even under the old conditions her future is brighter than in the past.

So recently relieved from despotic Government, the Turks may require the services of foreign advisers, but the sooner she can manage her own affairs the sooner and greater will be the prestige she will command in the world. The Turks have much to learn it is true—one of the first lessons is, that the political and commercial must be separated. It is the Embassy that makes itself the most objectionable which secures the most orders from needles to battleships, but to the credit of the British Embassy, and

to the disgust of the many British "Dom Pedros," it does not take a hand in this ignoble game; should, however, a Britisher be favoured, the well-meaning Turk is of opinion that he is doing the British nation a good turn. Economics is not a strong point in Great Britain as it is, but two penny-worth would quickly undeceive the Turk on this point.

Turkey is a poor nation, a very poor nation, and trade with a poor nation is not the most profitable. Asia Minor is one of the richest countries in the world, it would be difficult to exaggerate its natural wealth. There are millions of acres only waiting to be turned into perfect gardens of beauty, and made the most prosperous portions of the earth. No country can be developed without capital, and capital only flows towards those countries which give facilities. These in the past the Turks have tried to sell. The Turks of the New Regime learnt when in exile during the reign of Abdul Hamid how the South American Republics attained their great prosperity, though the lawlessness prevailing in these Republics to that in Turkey is as a bear garden to a Sunday school, and in the prosperity of her people lies the future of Turkey, which, since she has relieved herself of the burden of the Balkan Christians, is now possible.

## SUPPLEMENT

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### REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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#### THE FAR EAST

1. JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENT ADAPTED TO WESTERN NEEDS. By Miss Mary Averill. 218 pp. Eighty-eight illustrations. (London: John Lane.) Price 6s. net.

The art of floral decoration is one in which the sense of form may play a part just as great as the sense of colour. European florists have, as a rule, evinced a leaning for masses of colour, the effect of which is best realized, not in a *bouquet*, but, as Lord Redesdale pointed out in a spirited essay, in great banks of flowers such as grow on the Himalayan slopes, or in the Horikiri iris gardens and in the Kameido wistaria gardens, or in the cherry blossoms and autumnal vistas of maple forests in Japan; but the cut branches and sprays of leaves and flowers lend themselves to the expression of symbolism or to effects striking in their simplicity when set up in accordance with the laws of floral arrangement, called in Japanese *ikebana*. Buddhism, the *fons et origo* of Japanese art, is responsible for that treatment of floral decoration; lotus blossoms, buds, and leaves, form an integral part of altar decoration. Priests developed the arrangement of lotus and other flowers into a fine art, and the tea ceremony experts, nearly all Zen believers, introduced the *ikebana* in the ritual of their refined meetings. The origin of this art, its evolution from the fifteenth century upwards through various schools, is well sketched by the author in the first and last chapters of her book. Although the chronology before the Higashiyama period seems mixed, Soami and Ono no Imoko were separated by centuries; they were not master and pupil, as p. 214 seems to convey. But to the European reader the historical pages and the sketchy references to symbolism in arrangement are of less importance than the chapters on the technique of the art. Those are written in a thoroughly practical and serviceable manner; vases, supports, modes of bending the twigs, are sufficiently well described for general use, and the reader desirous for more detailed information is frankly referred to the works of Josiah Conder. Incidentally, the use of wax on the edges of a water-vessel to raise the surface of the liquid above the rim shows a knowledge of surface tension amongst the Japanese *ikebana* experts.

Unfortunately, the book contains a few blemishes which the author, after such a long stay in Japan, could easily have avoided: p. 64 shows a tsubaki (camellia) described as a magnolia; the Japanese text on p. 119 is reversed; p. 162 represents pine, maple, and chrysanthemum, according to the Japanese text: *matsu ni momiji kiku*, not bamboo; the poem on p. 179 is misquoted; further, the information about flower preservatives is barren for those who cannot get the *sansho*, *mogusa*, and *saké*, from Japan. Those are small matters, however, and could easily be avoided in a second edition of this very suggestive work.—HENRI L. JOLY.

2. THE ELEMENTS OF SŌSHO. By Captain F. S. G. Piggott, R.E. (London: Kelly and Walsh, Crosby Lockwood and Sons.) Price 12s. 6d. net.

Chinese characters in their native land, as well as in Japan, have suffered, like all other modes of writing, from a cursive deterioration which makes confusion worse confounded. The forms of rapid writing have crystallized into the *gyōsho*, fairly akin to the square calligraphy and the *sōsho*, or "grass writing," which, whatever beauty may be seen or fancied in its sinuities by experts, presents difficulties almost insuperable to the foreign student. There are *sōsho* forms of classical and recognized shape for each character, the learning of which comes slowly and laboriously to the native child, constantly brought in contact with the hasty scribbling of all and sundry; but human nature prompts the average Chinese or Japanese to extemporize far too often short-cuts and shapes peculiar to himself, the reading of which becomes then a source of annoyance or profanity. To a French naval officer belongs the honour of having classified the Chinese forms. Hoffmann and some others made an attempt at an elucidation of the Japanese cursive; but the first book in English upon this subject comes from the pen of a military man, Captain Piggott, R.E., who studied it during his sojourn in Japan, under the guidance of expert calligraphers. Whereas the Japanese *sōsho* dictionaries classify the characters under radicals, Captain Piggott has sought to combine the radicals into classes according to the similarity of their cursive forms; he has further segregated certain independent radicals, and brought together characters having strong analogies, with as many nuances in his classification as an expert politician might find amongst French Parliamentarians. The result is, so to speak, a "grammar of *sōsho*," somewhat more complicated than one might wish, having regard to the difficulties already inherent in Japanese writing. The characters have been written by Mr. S. Nakajima, formerly writing master to H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan; thus, *classical sōsho* is set before the student, who may hope, after mastering this book, with considerable patience and practice, to be able to read with ease many of the puzzles besetting him daily in the form of letters, postcards, or the wood-printed script of pre-Meiji days.

The author explains that an index to the 1,800 odd characters given in his book has been purposely omitted, and that all characters of common occurrence can be found by simple analysis and reference, for the same reason. The book being intended for advanced students, all translations

into English have been barred; perhaps it would have been better to make the work of use even to the less advanced students by including the English equivalents; it would at any rate have saved the inversion of 304 and 305 on p. 70. On the whole the book is well produced at a reasonable price, and deserves earnest study.—H. L. JOLY.

3. "WORLD-HEALERS," OR THE LOTUS GOSPEL AND ITS BODDISATTVAS. Compared with Early Christianity by E. A. Gordon. With a Letter by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D. Map, illustrations, and index. Two vols. (*Eugène L. Morice*, 9, Cecil Court, London, W.C.) Price £1 12s. 6d.

This work is the result of untiring investigation, and contains much food for mental absorption. Mrs. E. A. Gordon has given great attention to her subject. She has translated from many sources, and compared tenets and parallels of thought between the Eastern and Western religions. She has visited obscure temples of the Orient, consulted documents, argued with learned bonzes, and by these means she has discovered identical signs and symbols in use among both Buddhists and Christians. By symbol and picture, tradition and sacrament, rites and ceremonies, sacred dance and holy observance, she has established her conviction that not only has Christianity affected Buddhism, but Buddhism Christianity, particularly during the first seven centuries of our era. To quote the words from the author's own Preface is even to go a step further, for she states: *That modern Christianity would be deepened and spiritualized beyond conception by coming in contact with the teachings of the venerable Mahâyâna, and their expression in the wondrous art treasures of the East, there is very little doubt.* Mrs. Gordon's book, however, is not for the missionary; it is for the learned prelates of our Church to study and discourse on. The priests of lonely temples dedicated to the faith of Mahâyâna, or Northern Buddhism, who pass much of their time in contemplation, are eager to listen, and to learn from Western divines a fuller, deeper revelation of the Truth. They have long been waiting for Enlightenment, for profound and reliable knowledge concerning Christianity. We have not space to enter fully into the merits of this book and its ultimate influence; its all, or even part of what it contains, is convincing enough to become accepted. It is a great work, and will prove a valuable addition to the many books on Buddhism that have been compiled of late in the English language. Mrs. Gordon's previous work, published in Japan, entitled "Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages," in a measure prepared us for this still more erudite and exhaustive work on so vital a subject as the commingling of the two greatest religions of the world. There runs through all her writing a desire to establish a universal love among mankind, that is as refreshing as a river through a thirsty land.

The illustrations are excellent, full of symbolic significance. The index has been carefully prepared; but the frequent reference to footnotes, and the use of various types of printing on the same page, are troublesome to the reader, and too frequently distract the mind from concentration on the theme.—S.

## INDIA

4. THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. Wisdom of the East Series. (*John Murray.*) Price 2s. net.

The object of the editors of the series in which this little book is included is so entirely laudable that one is loath to criticize the very candid account of this extraordinary "religion," if it can be properly called a religion. The author says it is a religion, because it teaches that "salvation, the freedom from the circle of birth and death, results from knowledge; and the saving knowledge which is the essence of positive Buddhist teaching consists in the four truths: the fact of suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the Noble Eightfold Path leading thereto." The whole object of life, therefore, seems to be to get rid of any future life as soon as possible. No wonder that such a theory strikes many people as a dreary outlook. As a mere system of morality, there is no doubt much to be said for it; but there is very little trace of pure altruism, or anything like the sacrifice of self for the sake of others, which is the distinguishing feature of Christianity. Certainly, the Buddhist Ten Commandments, as given on pp. 52, 53, compare very unfavourably even with those of the old Jewish Dispensation, to say nothing of the spiritualized edition of the same as promulgated by Christ. In place of the Commandments, which embody the Jewish idea of our duty to God (of which, of course, there is no trace in Buddhism), we have four or five which can only be characterized as almost ludicrous; for what can be more absurd than to put "abstinence from a high or large bed" in the same category with murder?

On the whole, it must be confessed that a perusal of the Buddhist Scriptures as contained in this little volume does not tend to increase one's respect for the religion of Buddha or for the language attributed to its founder.—J. B. P.

5. THE REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRAVANCORE FOR 1912-13.

One of the most picturesque, and certainly one of the most prosperous, countries in India is Travancore, with its  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions spread over an area of 7,000 odd square miles, which within its present boundaries was consolidated and brought under one Sovereign during the reign of Marthanda Varma (1729-1758). It is therefore practically contemporaneous with the Presidency of Madras, and was one of the staunchest allies of the British during the troublous times of the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the South of India lived in constant terror of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. It was not, indeed, till the death of Tippu, in 1799, that Travancore (like Madras in general) entered on an uninterrupted career of peace and prosperity. Since 1805 it has paid eight lakhs of rupees a year as "tribute," or insurance against foreign aggression—a sum which amounts now to about 5 per cent. of its income, though six years ago it represented 8 per cent.

For many years the government of Travancore has been conducted almost exactly on British lines, and has steadily improved in efficiency



ever since Sir T. Madhava Rao first won his spurs there as its great Diwan some fifty years ago; and it may be doubted if there was ever a happier country than Travancore under its present most enlightened and distinguished ruler with an immense number of names. It is a remarkable fact that, though the country is predominantly Hindu and intensely orthodox, one-fourth of the population consists of Christians—a larger proportion than in any other part of India.

It is also worthy of note that the increase in the Excise revenue has been as remarkable as in British India—from twenty-one lakhs in 1806-07 to thirty lakhs in the year under report—and the reasons given for the increase are also much the same: the suppression of illicit drinking and the growth of population. This purely native administration has not succeeded in putting a stop to the practice of drinking.—J. B. P.

### THE NEAR EAST

#### 6. LIFE OF KING GEORGE OF GREECE. By Captain Walter Christmas. (*Eveleigh Nash.*)

The recent entry of the new King of Albania into his capital, and the reflections which it inspired, naturally carry the mind of the student of history back to the time when the kingdom of Greece was in its infancy, and the young Prince William George of Denmark was made King amid the pessimistic comments of Europe. Very few people to-day can remember clearly the circumstances of his accession, and in consequence the magnitude of the work he accomplished for Greece is often hardly rated at its true value. The publication of his life-story comes, therefore, at a very opportune moment, and the biographer is worthy of his task. Captain Walter Christmas, like most service men, has got the true spirit of the good biographer. He has a real sense of the dramatic, to which he does not hesitate to give free play, while, on the other hand, the book is not overloaded with rhetorical phrases, which are often the blot on work of this kind. The task of the Danish sailor in describing the life of the greatest Dane of his century has evidently been a labour of love, and the author's personal affection for King George is one of the keynotes of the book.

After a short account of the state of Greece between 1830 and 1862, and a description of the various failures of King Otho and his advisers, the author passes on to an account of the early years of King George, and his election to the throne of Greece at the early age of seventeen. After describing the promulgation of the Constitution, the royal marriage, and the various events of the early part of the reign, he passes on to the section of the reign in which the modern problems began to come to the fore—the questions of Thessaly and Crete. The Thessalian question reached its solution after some bickering in 1881, when the frontiers of Greece received a considerable extension. The Cretan problem went on for years and years, and as we read the pages of this book we cannot help feeling how useless it was to try and keep the Cretans under the dominion

of Turkey, and how short-sighted was the action of the Powers all along. After two chapters on the private life of the Royal Family, and of King George as a traveller—brimful of good anecdotes about the King's position and popularity at Copenhagen and Aix-les-Bains—we have a long and well-written account of the Græco-Turkish War, and an even more interesting description of the political crisis of 1909—an event which few people in this country realized or understood. Lastly we have an account of the war of 1912, and a vivid and pathetic account of the tragic assassination of the King at Salonica. The writer has, in general, kept within the limits of good taste, though he would have been well advised not to stir up the muddy waters of Bulgaro-Greek controversy by an unrestrained laudation of King Constantine's letters to the Press. Captain Ivanoff's article in the February number of this *Review* shows that there is another side to the question, and that the Razlog letters have not yet received an answer. The translator has done his work well, and every reader owes a respectful debt of gratitude to Queen Alexandra for the photographs she has supplied. The book is certainly one of the really notable volumes of the year.—P. S. CANNON.

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7. ALBANIA, THE FOUNDLING STATE OF EUROPE. By Wadham Peacock.  
(Chapman and Hall.) Price 7s. 6d.

This is a very informative book by one who has lived in the country and knows the ways and customs of its inhabitants. The author was formerly private secretary to H.B.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Montenegro and Consul-General in Northern Albania. He combines in one volume a descriptive account of the country and an authoritative statement of the legitimate claims for independence of a brave, and often misrepresented, little nation. An interesting chapter is devoted to Scodra, the Albanian city which Montenegro covets, and which shows conclusively that the city is not Slav, and that therefore King Nicholas' claims are unjustified. In past centuries, to use the words of Mr. Wadham Peacock, Montenegro was ruled from Scodra, and not Scodra from Montenegro. A summary of the story of Albania at the end of the book explains how the Albanian stood his ground through the centuries, and that invasions never dislodged him from his rocks. The main thing to remember in Albanian history is, that the Slav has always been to the Shkypetar what the Turk is to the Slav—a racial foe. The Gladstonian sentiment, that the Turk became the general oppressor of the Balkan Peninsula by defeating, at the Battle of Kossovo, in 1389, its rightful Slav owners, is still widely current. As Mr. Wadham Peacock humorously puts it, the Albanian, proud and silent on his crags, without even a disastrous battle to serve as a peg for advertisement, has through the centuries asked nothing of Europe, and has been given it in ample measure. In "cutting out the new kingdom" the Great Powers have cynically ignored large populations of Albanians, and handed them over to their hereditary foes, because Russian and Austrian interests clash in the Balkans, both being equally desirous of a sea outlet. Like all those acquainted with the true state of things, the author does not even

mention an Epirote question, but has all his sympathies on the side of the thousands of patriotic Albanians who are described as Greeks because they belong to the Orthodox Church.

A very good study is made of the "blood feud," which finds its exact replica in the Corsican vendetta: It is, of course, deplorable, and a great source of weakness to the country. In all fairness, however, it must be pointed out that blood feud is not brutality let loose, but has its strict code of honour, and that women are strictly excluded from it. An Albanian takes no revenge on woman or child.

While fully aware of the many-sided difficulties of Albania, Mr. Wadham Peacock is confident of the fact that the Shkypetars are a dogged race who have survived many tyrants. It is a book which all impartial students of the Near East will read with interest. It deals at all times with facts, and never with polemics, leaving altogether aside any racial or religious questions in the narrow sense of the word.

The book is admirably illustrated.—E. A.

8. THE HISTORY AND ECONOMICS OF INDIAN FAMINES. By A. Loveday, B.A., late Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge; being the Le Bas Prize Essay for 1913. (*G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.*, 1913.)

Considering that the author of this excellent little work has no personal knowledge of the country he writes about, this book is a most creditable performance, and gives evidence of much careful study of books, not all of which (as enumerated in the bibliography) are equally trustworthy. He very soon discovered a fact still hidden from Mrs. Besant, that "the frequency and cause of famines in India should be no cause for surprise," and it would be well if she (and others) would consider carefully other passages, in which he says that "history gives no example of a drought extending over the whole of India"; so that "every improvement in the means of communication must decrease the fatality of local deficiency," and "one fact alone remains proved, that, whatever the cost, whatever the ultimate effect, the immediate efficiency of railways in checking mortality has been unparalleled."

With reference to the poverty of India our author says, "Considerable division of opinion has existed as to the extent (depth?) of the poverty of the masses of the population of India," and, (it may be added,) none of the estimates of the income of the people are of much value, the late Mr. Digby's being, perhaps, the most hopeless of all. As Sir Lepel Griffin always used to say, "Poverty is a comparative term," and one may be better off and more comfortable on a penny a day in one country than with a shilling a day in another. Personally I would rather live on a penny a day in a Bombay village where I should have no house-rent to pay, (not, of course, in Bombay itself), than on a shilling a day in London; though I should not care to try either experiment.

It is impossible within the limits of a short review to go into every question raised by this industrious young gentleman, and it may be more useful to comment on some of his statements which are not, perhaps, very well

founded. He says, for instance, that "Land tenure has become insecure," some "industries have been struck by English competition." Both statements are too general, and it does not appear how he proves that land tenure in general has become insecure; whilst the reference in the note on p. 6 to p. 113 for a fuller discussion of the destruction of Indian industries by English competition affords no information on the point, so far as I can see. It is true, as he says on p. 114, that weaving and other home industries have been seriously injured (certainly not "eliminated"), just as those of England were by the great economic revolution of the eighteenth century, but not so much by English competition as by the steam-engine.

But when all is said and done, this book is a remarkable achievement for a young man writing of a country he does not know, and will be of the greatest use to any student of Indian economics for years to come. Occasionally he seems to me to be too pessimistic, as when he says that the sugar trade of India seems "sealed" (p. 127). I, at any rate, cannot believe that India will not succeed in so improving the cultivation and manufacture of sugar as to hold her own in the markets of the world. But it must not be bolstered up by protective tariffs.

It is somewhat surprising that Mr. Loveday's attention has not been drawn to a small volume of leaflets entitled "Truths about India," published by the East India Association. As far as they go, the facts given in that volume are, as Mr. Marsden said in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, "absolutely trustworthy," and have certainly never been contradicted.

Lastly, it would do Mrs. Besant much good to consider carefully the list of famines in the index. The history of the old famines is most interesting and instructive, and one can only hope that in the interests of India itself the book may be widely read in India.—J. P.

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9. INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. (Longmans.) Price 3s. 6d. net.

We can heartily recommend this lucid and thought-provoking little book to the careful attention of all who are interested in the subject of education. Perhaps even more especially would we place it in the hands of those who are formulating schemes of education for India and Egypt. "Education," says Professor Sarkar, "is nothing but the comprehensive means of helping forward the natural life process" by which the powers and faculties with which man is innately endowed "grow and develop naturally under the influences of the surrounding forces of the world . . . he is constantly drawing his sustenance and materials for the building up of his physique and manhood from the physical and social world without." Therefore a system of education is not to be regarded as good or bad *per se*, but must be considered solely in relation to the social, political, and religious environment for which it is intended. Freedom, Race-tradition and Modernity must be the fundamentals of any successful system of national education.

The two other great principles which Professor Sarkar lays down are—*First*, the interaction of all subjects of human knowledge, and therefore the rational necessity for their unification in teaching, as opposed to their arbitrary specialization into separate studies. The best of modern teachers, however, do realize that such subjects as, for example, geography, geology, history, civics and political science, are so clearly interwoven in their causes and effects that the understanding of one must include the knowledge of all. *Secondly*, the necessity for the inductive method of teaching in all departments of education, and the personal handling of the subject by the student from his own observation and experience. "The pupil must not be a mere reader: he must be a discoverer and creator too."—H. M. H.

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10. THIRTY YEARS IN MOUKDEN, 1883-1913. By Dugald Christie, C.M.G., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P. Edin. (London: Constable and Co., 1914.) Price 8s. 6d. net.

Dr. Christie has given us a book which all may read with ease and pleasure, whether missionary, trader, soldier, newspaper correspondent, or what not. There is nothing difficult or technical about it, and moreover, such specific *data* as are seriously given are historically right, so that political writers who may hereafter wish to air their statesmanlike views on Manchuria will find it a capital book to "crib" from. Dr. Christie wisely confines his own personal literary ambition to a straightforward exposition of what he has actually seen, and as he has practically seen or felt, in this way or that, almost everything that has occurred at or around Moukden since he "discovered" and began morally to develop that mysterious capital over thirty years ago, he is a most excellent expounder of the complicated processes that have in this short space of time made of Moukden a modern *Weltstadt*. Although some of the early Manchu imperial tombs are there, or at *Hing-king* in the vicinity, neither of these quasi-metropolitan places, nor, indeed, the very imperial name "Manchu," was known to the world in general, or (it might almost be said) to the Chinese and Manchus themselves, until the toxophilite conqueror Nurhachu, of the Aisin Ghioro clan, welded the various Tungusic tribes into one, mastered Corea and the Mongols, fought with the border armies of the decrepit Ming dynasty of China, asserted "imperial" equality, and left it to his son and grandson, on the suicide of the last Chinese Emperor, to step into and permanently occupy the vacant throne of the Son of Heaven. Moukden is a Manchu name for what for nearly 2,000 years had been oftenest a Corean city; and what we now call "South Manchuria" has oftener belonged to Corean races, or Mongoloid races, than to the Chinese, *a fortiori* to the Manchus, whose true habitat has from ancient times been the Ussuri, Sungari, and Amur region; one of the earliest moves 330 years ago was south from Ninguta to Hetuala (about 1583), then itself a military outpost of the Chinese; Moukden was captured in 1621, and in 1626 the Manchu capital was transferred from Hing-king (near Hetuala) to Moukden. Dr. Christie's book gives us the whole recent history of this modern



capital, which is really, *mutatis mutandis*, to Ninguta what St. Petersburg is to Moscow—*i.e.*, a political centre, selected so as to command Corea, Mongolia, and China.—E. H. PARKER.

11. THE SAMHITA. By Sri Ananda Acharya. (*Francis Griffiths and Co.*) 2s. 6d. net.

Here we have a handy little textbook serving as an introduction to the philosophy of the Vedanta, ably translated from the original by Sri Ananda Acharya in such wise as to make a strong appeal to Western lovers of Oriental theology.

It is divided into the translator's introduction, which explains more clearly to seekers of Brahma knowledge various points already plain to advanced Brahma-knowers, and follows this up with the Samhita itself, and its interesting dialogue between Rishi Astavakra and Raja Janaka.

Space does not permit a more detailed account of its many headings, among which are: "The Joy of Perception of Truth," "Is the Merging of the Infinite possible?" "Bondage and Liberation," "Special Instruction," "Repose in the Glory of Atma," and "Liberation in Life," but in the main these latter expositions will be more appreciated by the student who has already made some progress along the Brahmin higher road than by the beginner treading the lower paths, although the author has done his best to simplify many of the more complicated Vedantic passages for European use.

F. G. K. F.

### ORIENTA ALMANAKO

12. TALES FROM THE ARABIC, ARMENIAN, TCHETCHEN, HEBREW, HINDOO, CHINESE, JAPANESE, KARTVELIAN, LEZGIN, SANSKRIT, TARTAR. Translated into Esperanto, with a preface by B. Kotzin, editor of "La Ondo de Esperanto" (The Wave of Esperanto).

Ancient Chinese literature is characterized by "rapid style"—that is to say, many events are described in a small compass. To effect this the sentences are very short, and full-stops always separate one or two words. The doctor's life-story is translated word for word (in Esperanto), and offers a specimen of "rapid style."

#### "A DOCTOR'S LIFE-STORY"

"Mr. X during youth learned to write. Without success! Busied himself with art. Without success! Studied medicine; found he knew much. No patient for three years. Grew angry. Sickened. Treated himself and died.

"Alas Sir! you died; you yourself died. Had you not died, many neighbours would have died. Your method was neither medicine nor treatment. Your drugs like a wolf, like a tiger. The healthy, touched by your hand, fell ill. The strong who used your drugs, perished. Alas!" Translated into Esperanto by K. Gh. Shan.



## JUST PUBLISHED

13. A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM : being a Cyclopædia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, etc., of the Muhammadan Religion. By T. P. Hughes. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. viii + 750, with numerous illustrations. Published £2 2s. net; now offered for £1 5s. Postage Inland 7d.; Foreign 2s.

This is a facsimile far superior to the two anastatic reprints of 1895-96 of the original edition of Hughes' Dictionary, which in any form has been long out of print and not only expensive but very difficult to secure. The publishers anticipate therefore a welcome acceptance of this reprint, which, despite the fact that it *is* a reprint, has practically all the clarity of Roman and Arabic text and illustrations found in the original edition. There is no volume so comprehensive or authoritative dealing with the Religion and Customs of the Muhammadan peoples. Of this issue 500 copies only are being done, and it is anticipated that it will rapidly go out of print.

"The Dictionary will have its place among the standard works of reference in every library that professes to take an account of the religion which governs the lives of millions."—*Athenæum*.

## CATALOGUE IN PREPARATION

Bibliotheca Asiatica IV. Including the Library of the late H. F. B. Lynch, Esq., containing books on Arabia, Persia, Muhammadanism, Eastern Religions and Folklore, Art and Archæology, etc.

## THE DRAMA

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### "PYGMALION"

THE news that "Pygmalion" was to be staged at His Majesty's aroused conjecture as to whether Bernard Shaw had *already* become a classic, or Sir Herbert Tree had joined the realists. Events proved that they had met on neutral ground, although the distance bridged by Tree had evidently been greater than in the case of Shaw. Pygmalion (in this case Professor Henry Higgins) meets his Galatea whilst sheltering from the rain—*real* rain—in the portico of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Only a word from her is needed for him to identify the very gutter that claims her, for to him the dialects of West Ham and Whitechapel are as unlike as, to us, those of Liverpool and Aberdeen. Struck by the native crudity of her accent, he makes a wager that after six months of his training he will pass her off as a duchess at a Royal garden-party, and wins it; but in the meantime Galatea has become indispensable to him, and he to her, and the curtain falls leaving us satisfied that all is well with them.

Professor Henry Higgins could not well have had a better exponent than Sir Herbert Tree. The impression left was that here at last was the real Tree, whilst the many other rôles he has played on the boards of His Majesty's Theatre were but pieces of acting. His silent expression of mingled terror and enjoyment was irresistible when Galatea is presented to Society at his mother's, and heaps blunder on blunder, ending with the final expletive of which enough has been said and read. Mrs. Patrick Campbell's heroine, in the earlier scenes, was very much like other coster-girls that have been seen on the stage (but not off), and would not profit by comparison, say, with Miss Dorothy Minto's rendering of a similar character in "Fanny's First Play." Later, the gradual warming of Galatea into love for her benefactor, and her anguish at his cruel treatment of her as a mere specimen, was dramatically realized. Mention must also be made of Mr. Edmund Gurney as Alfred Doolittle, who made the very utmost of a part rich in Shaw's own kindly mockery of the hypocrisy of middle-class morality. He looked more like a dustman than did his daughter like a flower-girl.

### "AN IDEAL HUSBAND"

The revivals of Oscar Wilde's plays at the St. James's Theatre are always sure of a hearty reception from the present generation. This is in a way extraordinary, owing to the very limited appeal to only one class of society

that the famous playwright made. In a way it reflects a more Catholic taste of the present century in the matter of drama. All his plays contain brilliant dialogue, of a sort that should evoke hisses from the pit and gallery—for instance, when he says, in one of his plays, that the only use of the lower classes is to set a good example to Society; that is a kind of cynicism which does not find favour in the present age when social reform is the *pièce de résistance* of vote-catching legislation.

But "An Ideal Husband" is the most serious of Oscar Wilde's plays, the best constructed in its plot, the most persuasive in its moral. The subject is very similar to that of "The Attack," which appeared at the same theatre earlier in the year—viz., the shady patches in the early life of once struggling and now successful politicians. It is interesting to compare how Bernstein and Wilde respectively deal with the blackmailer; they both disarm him, or in the latter case her, by discovering the weak spots in the past of the blackmailer. Perhaps the most instructive conclusion is that, from the dramatist's point of view, English political life is, externally at any rate, much cleaner than the French; and if it was the object of Oscar Wilde to show our political life in as unfavourable a light as possible, he has nevertheless failed to bring it down to the level of the French in Bernstein's eyes. Miss Phyllis Neilson-Terry played very sympathetically as the virtuous wife of the Under Secretary—her idol had proved to have clay feet—Mr. Wontner, who is at his best as the politician; while Sir George Alexander, as the good counsellor, had a part which eminently suited him.

#### "AN INDIAN SUMMER"

This play starts dramatically with the discovery by a faithful and well-principled wife of the faithless and unprincipled misconduct of her lawyer husband—a budding K.C.—with another, a married woman, after twelve years of married bliss. For the sake of the child she agreed to separate from him and let him go his way. She never forgives him, even after the third person is dead and buried—that is all.

The whole tragedy happens in the first ten minutes, and leaves us wondering and quite undisturbed by what follows, which is really scarcely worth listening to. The son's adventurous marriage to a chorus-girl is quite another story. The play drags, there is no plot, and the characters are mismanaged. It was a fine opportunity for a more experienced dramatist. But we thought it was well interpreted at the Prince of Wales Theatre, and Mr. Allen Ainsworth especially, as the brilliant and universally popular barrister, deserves unqualified praise.

## OUR INDIAN MAIL

WE regret to notice that the name of the counsel who acted on behalf of Mrs. Besant in the Privy Council was spelt wrongly in our last number. The name of the gentleman is S. Sinha, Esq., barrister-at-law, Bankipore.

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Another incident of sacrifice resulting in death as protest against the existing social conditions in certain communities of India has occurred at Kansaripara in Bhomanipare (Bengal) recently. It appears that a young girl of fifteen, the daughter of a respectable Brahmin, had been for some time worrying over her marriage prospect. One Sunday she, unknown to the inmates of the house, shut herself in a room, saturated her clothes with kerosine oil, and set herself on fire and eventually expired. This reminds us of the heroic death of Snehalata, who burnt herself to death in order to save her father from being ruined in securing sufficient money for her dowry. We hope these unfortunate catastrophes will prove a sufficient hint for the community to take up the matter in hand earnestly, and remove this objectionable form of social evil.

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We are glad to notice that an inquiry is being held as to the unaccountable fires that recently took place in many factories in Bombay, and hope the commissioners of the inquiry will be able to find out the actual cause in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters.

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The Paris correspondent of the *Parsi*, in the report dated May 6, says : "The situation in the pearl market has become very grave, and causes considerable anxiety. The state of affairs will have a disastrous effect, not only on many of the leading pearl merchants, but on several of the banks in Paris, which it is feared will have to close." The correspondent advises Bombay merchants to stop sending further consignments, and to act cautiously.

A note in the *Bombay Government Gazette* on the working of the irrigation system in Sindh for the past year shows that there are now 6,647 miles of canal-watered lands, which produced crops valued at 718 lakhs of rupees. The area irrigated was just over 3,000,000 acres, and the value of the crop was Rs. 24 per acre.

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Particulars have come to hand of a tragedy on the M. and S.M. Railway in which it is reported two persons lost their lives, while several are in hospital. A mixed train, while running between Shedhal and Miraj stations, 170 miles from Poona, caught fire. There was no communication-cord on the train, so that it was impossible for the people in the train to inform the guard or driver of what was occurring. The train was eventually stopped, but not before the mischief was done. The injured people were placed in hospital at Miraj. Unfortunately, such occurrences are not very uncommon in India, and we hope the authorities will give special attention to the matter, and provide every facility to guard against such tragedies.

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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AUGUST 15, 1914

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## "DIVIDE AND RULE"—INDIA'S DESTRUCTION!

BY J. POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.

IN last month's *Asiatic Review*, in the course of a somewhat "gall-and-wormwoody" article on "The Present Political Situation in India," Sir Henry Cotton has thought proper to assert that Indian officials *deliberately* stirred up racial and religious antagonisms between Muhammadan and Hindu.

This is so grave an accusation that, were it true, one might well despair of British rule in India. But is it true? Is it not the figment of a morbid imagination? And to deliberately bring such a charge at such a time, is not this an indication of wrong-headedness *in excelsis*? If true, surely one has the right to know who were the wicked officials who *deliberately* stirred up racial and religious antagonisms, and when and where and how and why did they do so?

Sir Henry does not tell us. He simply launches the accusation, and leads the public to believe that the stirring up of strife is at the present day part and parcel of the policy of the British Government in India. He apparently desires to divide the Government from the people, and does not hesitate to create the impression that "Divide and Rule" is one of the principles on which India is now being administered. But surely he ought to know that ever since



the Queen took over the government of India such a policy has been consistently discarded, and that for more than half a century the efforts of British administrators have been directed towards bringing about a better understanding between the different races and peoples of India, and more especially towards encouraging the union and identification of the interests of Hindus and Muhammadans. Surely peace amongst these various and varying communities has been the deliberate policy of the Government of India, and not the very reverse, as Sir Henry Cotton would lead us to believe.

Look at the wording of the Queen's proclamation. After clearly setting forth that she holds herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty which bind her to all her other subjects, Her Majesty says: "And it is our further will that, *so far as may be*, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." Do these words "*so far as may be*" spell "Divide and Rule"?

In compliance with this promise, look at the way in which the Indian Civil Service has long ago been thrown open to all classes of British subjects—Irishmen and Indians alike. Was this dividing and ruling?

It must be admitted that these changes were opposed by some, and that warnings and forebodings were not wanting of what would happen

"When Haileybury's Hall of Fame  
Fell, scoffed at as an old-world sham,  
And India's service first became  
The meed of merit and of—cram!"

And there were not a few who, with undisguised dismay,

"Looked in course of time to see  
Muir, Lawrence, rank with Chatterjee;  
And Colvins alternate with Dutts,  
And Ghoses elbow Elliotts."

And there have, perhaps, been also some who did believe in "Divide and Rule," in spite of the consistent attitude of Government to the contrary; but this did not prevent the changes being made or the Queen's pledges being fulfilled! There was no policy of "Divide and Rule" indicated in these changes, nor is there such a policy now.

As is well known, at the present moment the Indian Civil Service is open to all sons of India, without distinction of class, or caste, or creed. There are, it is stated, upwards of 1,700 Indian students in the United Kingdom at the present time, and there is nothing to prevent any of these youths from getting into the Covenanted Service of the Crown on their own merits, without the favour of Prince, or Lord, or King. But most of these Indian students prefer going in for the Bar, medicine, engineering, or other professions in which they can make more money and rise more rapidly, and be free and independent.

The truth is the Civil Service presents but little attraction to these youths. They are chiefly town-bred lads, and have no desire to spend their lives, as so many Indian Civilians do, in "districts desolate and dry." There are also, perhaps, other reasons why they object to the Indian Civil Service. But Indians are certainly not excluded from this service on any "Divide and Rule" principle or precaution. As a matter of fact, the actual detailed administration of India is (and has been from the first) mainly in the hands of Indian subordinates, the chief functions of the Covenanted Service being confined to direction and control.

The idea that "the religious differences which divide the Indians into two different camps have proved a useful bulwark of the British power in India" is a deplorably mistaken one, and owes its origin to the misleading but widespread belief that India was conquered by the sword, and that it is so held. Historically this is not true. India, in anything but a very partial and limited sense,

was never conquered by the sword of Britain, nor is she held by British bayonets or by British artillery! India was won by force no doubt, but that force was the force of character. Her consent was gained and her consent has been kept, and it is on India's consent that the government of India rests to-day. Indeed, consent is the only basis on which any government can endure. Let the history of Madras and Bombay Bengal and the North-West be studied thoughtfully and dispassionately and it will be understood how it came about that so many millions of India's many different peoples sought British protection, came willingly under British control and acquiesced in British supremacy of their own free will and accord, and aided in its extension.

In many instances Sovereignty was literally thrust upon the British against their will. The truth is that, (buccaneers though they may have been), these "heaven-born exploiters" (as Lalpat Rai dubs them) had won the good opinions of the masses of the people, and were in many instances made rulers by the sheer force of circumstances. Is it not a fact that the Chiefs and Princes of many a Ráj, for diverse reasons, gladly placed themselves under British protection? And have they not ever since remained loyal friends and allies of the British Government in spite of snubs and snobs and bombs and sedition?

There were many battles fought in India, it is true, and no one can deny that Clive was the victor at Plassey, that at Assaye Wellesley "clashed with his fiery few and won," and that the Baluchis were rushed by Napier at Miani, and that it took the British some trouble to beat the Sikhs. But it ought never to be forgotten that most of those who helped the British to victory on these great battlefields (where the sword, the bayonet and artillery really did prevail) were themselves Indians—sons of the soil—whose affectionate fidelity, loyalty, and devotion we had won by force of character. Again, in the dark days of the Mutiny God knows how things might

have ended had the recently-subdued Sikhs not proved true. But, as one of the Sikh Sardars has said: "They had learned to love their leaders, for they treated them like men, and they followed still where the Sahib led, and will do so again."

Nor must we forget the debt of gratitude we owe to our Indian brothers who fought for us during the ghastly siege of Lucknow. As Tennyson reminds us, our gratitude is due to them.

'Praise to our Indian brothers, and let the dark face have its due!  
Thanks to the kindly dark faces, who fought for us, faithful and few.  
Fought with the bravest amongst us, and drove them and smote them  
and slew,  
That ever upon the topmost roof our banner in India blew."

In short, it would have been impossible for the British to have evolved order out of chaos, and established the Pax Britannica (as they did), had it not been for the cordial co-operation of the peoples of India themselves. All classes rallied to the rescue, co-operated with the British, and acquiesced in their control.

It would of course be idle to contend that Great Britain took over the government of India, and is running it now exclusively in the interests of India and for the good of India alone. Everyone who thinks about it understands that the concern is a "joint concern" or "partnership" in which Britons and Indians alike possess common interests and mutual rights and duties. The outstanding common interest surely is that the whole should grow, improve, advance itself, especially in its weaker parts, and such an advance would be impossible under any such Machiavellian policy as that of "Divide and Rule." Enforcement of such a policy would mean the destruction of India, and it is a very false way of looking at things to regard the peoples of India as a subject population to be kept penned up apart like sheep and goats.

It must clearly be understood that the common rights and duties are that all should care for each and each for all,

the strong being entitled, where strong, to a fair field and no favour; and the weak, where weak, being entitled, not only to a fair field, but to all the favour the rest can afford to give. It is, in short, in the constant and cordial recognition of these natural rights and corresponding duties between all classes and creeds that the welfare of the whole of India consists, and what Britons have to do is not to "*Divide and Rule*," but to strive to "*fellow-work*" in cordial sympathy with all classes of their Indian fellow-subjects.

Unfortunately, it cannot be denied that there are some Europeans—or quasi-Europeans—now serving in India who, in their secret and sometimes open souls, simply loathe the country and everything connected therewith (except, perhaps, the hills, the clubs, golf, lawn tennis and champagne). It would be well to allow all such to retire, on proportionate pension or otherwise, and to let their places be taken by men of the Lawrence, Nicholson, Ashburner type; men who understood and loved the races and peoples of India, and who "*fellow-worked*" with them for the good of all. Fortunately, there are still many such men in the ranks of the Civil Service, men who would scorn such a policy as that of "*Divide and Rule*," and while Britain remains true to herself the supply of such men will never fail. Administrators of this class readily recognize that the union between India and Great Britain should be one of mutual esteem, and of frank appreciation of the strong points of both, and they have always insisted that there must be due admission of the facts of mutual interdependence and sympathetic correlation. Every thoughtful man realizes that India needs us, and that we need India; and it is not merely for commercial wealth, but for all that signifies moral and social and material advance, that India and Great Britain have been bound together. A policy of "*Divide and Rule*" would prove disastrous to both countries, and to proclaim to the world at large that British officials in India are deliberately engaged in setting one class against another so as to rule over all, is to add another falsehood

to the many falsehoods of the reckless kind which maddened the unfortunate Dhingra, and which have proved so harmful to the rising youth of India. Poor Dhingra had been taught to believe that famine and plague were caused by the English, that India was robbed of hundreds of millions in the shape of annual tribute paid to England, and that Indian women were outraged wholesale with impunity by brutal British soldiers. No one contradicted these teachings, and, heated by such falsehoods, his brain gave way and he committed the atrocious murder for which he died.

Is this, then, a time to madden madness? And is it now to go forth to the youth of India as a truth that English officials are "deliberately stirring up racial and religious antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan"? Ought not such an accusation to be emphatically contradicted? If uncontradicted, such a charge is eminently calculated to stir up *real* unrest. It may be that much of the present "unrest" is purely artificial, and many who really know India well are of opinion that far too much has been made of it, and have come to the conclusion that a great deal of this seeming unrest would disappear if Government were only to dispense with confidential reports, and abstain from taking so much notice of anonymous communications, and from requiring secret summaries of writings in the vernacular press, etc. It seems clear that these "highly confidential" documents cannot be kept secret, and that they soon become the property of subordinate officials, and through them get into the hands of mischief-makers, who take care that fresh reports are quickly forthcoming, and thus volumes of unrest continue to rise up in tomes!

Others maintain that much of the unrest is due to our faulty system of education; and it would almost seem to be true that at a time when we had no educational system of our own we imposed a systemless system on India. Be that as it may, few facts are more remarkable than (1) the way in which the Bengalis seem to have forgiven young Macaulay (he was little more than thirty) for the conceited



manner in which he traduced and maligned their race and character, and for the ridicule and contempt he poured on their language, literature and history (of which, as Lord Sydenham has pointed out, he was sublimely ignorant), and (2) their subsequent devotion to his scheme that Higher Education in Indian Universities should be conveyed in the English language only, the idea being that English learning would filter downwards, in some haphazard way, to the uneducated masses.

Against this "downward-filtration scheme" of Macaulay's Dr. Leitner and Sir Lepel Griffin headed a crusade started by thoughtful Indians, who did not wish their sons to become half-anglicized, to think their fathers fools and despise their mothers, to neglect their own literature, and to lose their ancient code of dignified Indian manners, courteous bearing, and reverence for constituted authority. These thinkers protested against Macaulay's scheme and pressed for its revision, so as to provide for Higher Education, in matters of Western culture, being conveyed through the medium of the vernaculars, and also for honours being awarded for high proficiency in Eastern literature. They ultimately succeeded, in spite of opposition from Calcutta, in founding the Lahore University, but elsewhere Macaulay's scheme prevailed, and it is to the exaggerated prevalence of this scheme that the objectionable phases of Indian unrest have, rightly or wrongly, been attributed. However, (as has been pointed out in the preface to "*Truths about India*"), there is no objection to "unrest" in itself—for there is such a thing as wholesome unrest; but bomb-throwing and murder are utterly alien to the true spirit and religion and morals of the East, and are symptoms of Occidental disease and Western God-forsakenness.

All honest well-wishers of the peoples of India desire to help them forward on the path to Nationhood; and, (as the East India Association has now, for nearly half a century, consistently maintained,) it is only right and proper

that "the legitimate aspirations of Indians to share in the government of their own country should be recognized and sympathetically met." The wishes, sentiments—ay, and prejudices—of the inhabitants of India should be respected, and this has been the true policy of the British Government, not the false policy of "Divide and Rule" (as some assert). Mistakes have, no doubt, been made from time to time, and no one pretends that the administration of India is perfect; but let us at least try to tell the real truth about this joint concern—this partnership between India and Great Britain—and it will be found that, on the whole, the government has been run honestly for the good of both. It is absurd to claim gratitude from India for magnificent public works, a vast railway network, elaborate irrigation schemes, and other proofs of the beneficence of British rule, or even for money lent at ridiculously low rates of interest, and for a cheap "Peace-Insurance Scheme" in the shape of civil and military pensions. No doubt these things and the Pax Britannica are something to be thankful for, and Mr. Justice Ranade and Mr. Gokhale and most of the thoughtful men of the Congress have never denied this. But all these things make for the good of the joint concern, and not for India alone, and the partners equally enjoy the profits. There may, thus, be room for self-congratulation, but *gratitude* is hardly the right word to employ in this connection, and cannot reasonably be expected or demanded. In some cases, indeed, the reverse of gratitude might well be excused, notably where India's cotton interests were sacrificed to gain the Lancashire vote. But be these things as they may, *Collaboration* and Conciliation, as proclaimed by the King at Delhi, ought to be the true watchwords of officials in India, and of Britons generally, in their dealings with Indians. The greater the sympathy and affection between the people and the officials, and between Britons and Indians, the better for all. To sow divisions and dissensions between the officials and the people would seem to be the deliberate policy of some

evil-minded persons. But so long as the officials (British and Indian, alike) "do justice, and love mercy," and work for the good of the people, these mischief-makers will never succeed.

No doubt the pacification and successful administration of India constitute a glorious record for the "blended race" (as the Poet Laureate, Alfred Austin, called the inhabitants of these Western Isles), and the achievement is one of which any race might well be proud! But the readiness with which the Indian peoples themselves acquiesced in British control and submitted to recognized authority rendered the task of reorganization easier and proved a vast and abiding benefit to all.

Let Britain, then, be true to herself, and continue to persevere in her policy of welding the many nations and peoples of India together—

"Into one Imperial whole,  
One with Britain, heart and soul!  
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!"

And let our proud motto be—

Not "Divide and Rule,"  
but  
"UNITE AND RULE."

For "United we stand, Divided we fall!"

## ENGLAND AND ISLAM

BY SIR THOMAS BARCLAY, LL.B.

LAST year a distinguished French politician, in an article in a Paris morning paper, expressed himself strongly against a view I had then recently expressed in favour of a *politique d'intérêts*. I put the article in a safe place, to keep with the purpose of dealing with it at leisure, and the fate of such precautions has overtaken me. I cannot find it at the moment when I require it.

Now is the occasion to deal with it, because the relations of the British Empire to Islam are essentially a case in point.

Towards Islam sentiment has largely dictated British public feeling; interest, British policy. While public sympathy in England has always been keenly on the side of Christian against Muhammadan, on the side of the Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire struggling for emancipation from Turkish rule, English statesmen have confined direct action to improving their status and condition within that Empire. While Greece in particular has been a sort of "pet" of British public opinion—a feeling so strong that even statesmen themselves could not resist the temptation to help these heirs to an ancient civilization and the proud traditions of independence and genius which generations of the modern occidental have been trained to admire, and at the present hour this affection for every-

thing Greek accounts for much which has recently taken place—interest has always bid them beware of the possible consequences of yielding to sentiment where important British interests are involved.

Thus there is in England towards Islam in the Near East a somewhat paradoxical attitude, in which public sympathy has not always marched shoulder to shoulder with political expediency. The atrocities of the reign of Abdul Hamid accentuated this dualism, and sentiment became so overwhelmingly strong that Turkey had to look elsewhere for protection, to the signal detriment of British interests.

When one speaks of a British interest, it is necessary to explain what the interest of an Empire composed of so many varied and scattered units may be. What may constitute an important interest to one part of it may even be detrimental to another. British rule in Asia, for instance, may have to take account of Asiatic rivalries in which a Power whose co-operation may be desirable in one part of that vast continent may have to be resisted most strenuously in another. Again, the interest of Australasia may be, towards the same Power, different from that of India. Then, again, British interests in Europe may be quite different from those of either India or Australasia. Even on the American continent there are West Canadian interests which may be far from identical with those of Eastern Canada and still more so with those of the mother country.

Then what is a British interest ?

A distinction must be made between what we may call the political interest, which is permanent, and the material interest, which is essentially dependent on circumstances which may be as elastic as the political interest is or ought to be fixed.

The chief political interest of any country is its self-preservation. That of Great Britain is the preservation of the integrity of the Empire and the keeping of all its

composite elements together. These elements are of varied character. Some are kept within the Empire at the cost of allowing them practical independence. This is the case with the self-governing colonies of Australia, Canada, and South Africa. Other parts, the chief of which is India, are kept within the Empire by a denial of self-government and a highly developed autocracy. The preservation of the British Empire therefore involves an Imperial policy which reflects very different political conditions, and which may be weak in one part of the Empire and strong in another.

Among the different elements of the Empire, the parts of it over which a policy is capable of maintaining the greatest consistency, and which are in closest connection with domestic interests, are, of course, the dependencies to which self-government has not been granted. Thus, India and Egypt are more closely bound up with the European policy of the United Kingdom than can be colonies which have a voice in their own destiny.

British world-policy, to use the German phrase, is, therefore, in the first place, the interest of keeping in good condition the chain which binds the British dependencies, as distinguished from the self-governing colonies, to the British Crown, represented by the King and his Government in London. These dependencies they can include in the determination of every move on the political chess-board, and before they can speak for the colonies they have already decided for the dependencies.

In the working of this British Imperial policy, although government is autocratic, the populations are governed with a conscientious effort to make them contented and prosperous, and to win the friendship and gratitude of the governed is a part of British policy. Both in India and in Egypt the Muhammadan populations have on the whole shown a high appreciation of these purposes and a strong attachment to British rule. Muhammadan moral



doctrine has much more in common with Protestant moral doctrine than any other Eastern religion, and in particular between the Muhammadans generally and Englishmen generally there is an elective affinity which has made disloyalty to British rule less common among Muhammadans than among any other of the alien peoples it is the British lot to govern.

Not to disaffect the King's Muhammadan subjects is therefore closely connected with that fundamental policy of self-preservation to which I have referred above.

In my book on the "Turco-Italian War," Syed Ameer Ali contributed a chapter on the way in which Muhammadan opinion was affected by that war. Syed Ameer Ali is an Indian Muhammadan who, after having reached a high place on the Indian Bench, was promoted to a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which acts as the highest court of appeal from British dependencies. His position among the Muhammadans of India and elsewhere is the lofty one of a descendant of the Prophet's family. In England he is a champion of Islam who never fails to stand out in the open where its interests and sympathies are at stake.

"In India," says Ameer Ali, "the Mussulmans are anxious to remain loyal to British rule, and to profit by the peace it has introduced in the country to achieve their material and moral development. But their religious and traditional sympathies extend far beyond the land they inhabit; by race and religion the bulk of them are allied to peoples outside India. Their religious and historical ideals are thus bound up with the independent existence of those peoples. It is absolutely in the nature of things that every throb in their hearts should create a responsive throb in the hearts of the Mussulmans of India. The Muhammadan subjects of the King who have given their whole-hearted loyalty to the Throne of England have a right to expect that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive considera-

tion in the general policy of the Empire, especially when those feelings and interests coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations."

Ameer Ali described the outburst of sympathy of Muhammadan India with the wrongs of Turkey in the war in question. At a mass meeting at Calcutta an oath was taken by the Mussulman merchants, who have dealings with Italy, not to touch Italian goods in the future, and then and there all available Italian goods were burnt as polluted objects.

Again, in connection with the Russian invasion of Persia, Ameer Ali wrote :

"In this state of feeling in India, the Russian advance into Persia has naturally increased the excitement and alarm. In 1907 England and Russia entered into a convention with the object of removing all causes of friction between their respective Empires. Although the British and Russian Governments marked out two distinct "spheres of influence" in that ill-fated country, its independence and integrity were solemnly guaranteed by both. And now, forsooth, on the allegation that an American citizen in the service of Persia, in the conscientious discharge of his duties, has shown himself either over-zealous or less sycophantic than was expected, the country is invaded by Russia, and her very existence as an independent State is in jeopardy. The disastrous effect of the Russian advance on the Indian mind can hardly be overrated. It will give colour to the growing impression that the European Powers are bent on destroying Mussulman States ; it will add to the prevailing unrest which every loyalist deplors, and will certainly cause a weakening in that feeling of trust in the British sense of justice which has given England such a strong hold on the loyalty of the people of India."

I believe from intercourse with Muhammadans that this is no exaggeration.

It is seen that the place of Islam in British policy is a very considerable one, and that a British foreign minister

is bound to take into account that in India alone there is a Mussulman population of 60,000,000. As the whole white population of the British Empire barely exceeds 54,000,000, the value to it of a loyal population of 60,000,000 among a mixed population of 300,000,000—which is that of India—is fairly obvious.

The consequences of this situation ought, therefore, to be considered in British policy more particularly in regard to Turkey and the Khalifate, which is enthroned at Constantinople. A British foreign minister cannot safely confine his outlook to the neighbours of the two little islands in Europe, with their tiny population of some 44,000,000. He has to bear in mind British interests involving a total population of some ten times as great, and among all this vast population are the white colonial population of some 10,000,000 and the Mussulman population of India of 60,000,000. Without wishing to reflect in any way on the loyalty of the Hindoo and other peoples of India, they do not possess a common religious leadership, and are not to any similar extent capable of common impressions or of joint action. It is this collective attribute of the Muhammadans which makes them the power they are, without need of invoking the now obsolete idea of a militant Pan-Islamism.

This is only the, so to speak, inner aspect of British policy in regard to Islam. There is also an outer and equally important aspect—the aspect which is connected with the distribution of the Empire itself and the character of its neighbours in Asia.

A glance at the map of Asia shows India lying south of mountain ranges which, starting in China, cross the vast continent and divide Asia geographically into a northern and a southern area, with as absolutely distinct characters as if they were divided by oceans. South of these mountains are spread out the interests of Anglo-Saxon and Frenchman. North are those of the Slavonic, Tartar, and other peoples forming the population of the Russian Empire. The territory of Northern Asia is capable of becoming

another Canada to the European. It is under-peopled and capable of similar settlement and development under civilized government. Southern Asia is if anything over-peopled and under settled government. There is a sharp contrast between these two sections of Asia. They have the different destinies of two continents remote from each other.

Between them where geographical contact is possible are Afghanistan, Beluchistan, Persia, and Turkey, Muhammadan countries which serve the purpose of strengthening the natural barriers which have saved Southern Asia, under European protection, from the excesses of Northern fanaticism.

Great Britain has an interest of the first order in the preservation of these Muhammadan countries against Russian aggression. At the cost of immense efforts she has secured Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and is helping the populations of these countries to obtain the blessings of orderly and humane government. I cannot say that British policy has shown an equally intelligent grasp of the enormous importance to British interests in Asia of the integrity of Persia.

This is not the place to discuss the questions which arise out of the present unnatural grouping of the Powers of Europe and the misfortune to the world of sacrificing the permanent interests of any country to historical or sentimental considerations. A policy which is not based on interest, political or materialistic, is a dangerous one which excites the suspicion of its neighbours, exposes it to irritating conflicts, and to that uncertainty of the morrow which for some years back has been the curse of Western Europe.

If I have spoken only of England and Islam, I have not forgotten that what applies to England in a great measure applies also to France, whose interests are in a sense parallel with those of England. Any shaking of the power of the one must necessarily affect the power of the other. It is in

the interest of both to preserve the integrity not only of the Ottoman Empire as it now remains, but also to act together in holding the Russian Government to its deliberate undertaking to respect the independence and integrity of Persia, which it is a part of British policy to maintain not only as belonging to the chain of Indian defence, but in deference to the loyal Mussulman population of India which England cannot afford to disregard.

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## THE BALKAN MIGRATIONS

BY R. A. H. BICKFORD-SMITH

DURING the last two or three months a great many telegrams and a considerable number of leading articles have appeared in the newspapers, alleging ill-treatment of Greeks by Turks and Bulgarians, of Servians by Bulgarians, of Bulgarians by Greeks and Servians, and of Turks by Greeks. The figures given are so large, and the persecutions so malicious, that an inquiry into the actual facts has become imperative.

Before proceeding to a classification of statistics, it will be well to get a general idea of the position in the Balkans at the end of the recent wars, which has made emigration and immigration necessary, and ill-treatment possible and even probable.

When the partition of Macedonia took place, a large number of Turks, Bulgarians, and Greeks were settled in Servia, a large number of Bulgarians and Turks and a few Servians were settled in the new part of Greece, a large number of Greeks and Turks and a few Servians were settled in the new Bulgaria, while there remained a considerable number of Greeks and a few Bulgarians in what was left of European Turkey. The region in which these aliens were found had recently—or a very large part of it—been the scene of warfare of a particularly truculent kind. Many of these aliens themselves had taken part in it; and no doubt not a few neighbours had been at death-grips



with each other a few weeks before. Peace had been declared, a readjustment of territory had been carried out (on paper), and Europe seems to have assumed that the old enemies had become new friends at a stroke of the diplomatic pen. But human nature—especially human nature in the Balkans—pays more heed to the sword than to the pen. The Powers, when redrawing the map of South-Eastern Europe, ought to have instituted a clearing-house for aliens; it was their duty to see that the consequences of their act should be as little onerous to the peoples involved as possible. The Press throughout the world does not seem to have given any consideration to what ought to have been to it the obvious results of the Treaties of London and Bucharest. No doubt the Press was tired of the Near East, and, as Mr. John Mavrogordato says in the preface of his "*Letters from Greece*," was "chiefly concerned, as far as I remember, with 'A Murder in a Taxi,' 'A Tragedy in a West-end Flat,' and 'A Blind Earl in an Omnibus.'" But even if the Press had other serious business to attend to, it was, at any rate, the duty of the foreign offices of Europe to arrange a scheme for the exchange of farms between the refugees of the different countries. It was not fair to the Balkan States, who had so recently been at each other's throats, and had had no time in which to cultivate friendlier feelings towards each other, to expect them to be able to settle the matter satisfactorily among themselves; moreover, they were all preoccupied with the organization of their new provinces.

The allocation of the different "nationals" before the wars was as follows:—

	Bulgarians.	Turks.	Servians.	Greeks.
Bulgaria...	3,000,000	600,000	A few	70,000
Greece ...	—	A few	—	2,700,000
Servia ...	A few	—	2,500,000	A few
Turkey ...	700,000	700,000	—	500,000

From this it will be seen that the number of aliens resident in Greece and Servia is negligible. A few Turks

remained, and still remain, in Thessaly, and in fact, just after Thessaly was given to Greece, the Turks had two representatives in the Greek Chamber of Deputies. There was at that time no sudden emigration of Moslems, but the Turks gradually left, preferring to live under the shadow of the Crescent. Their farms were not confiscated, and they did not migrate until they were able to sell them on reasonable terms.

The position is now entirely different. Vast masses of the population have to be dealt with carefully and promptly. An emergency exit has to be found, and an emergency entrance too.

A weekly review, which is not as well known as it deserves to be, *The Near East*, gives very carefully obtained and well-sifted information with regard to what transpires in the south-east of Europe. As it caters for pro-Bulgarians, pro-Greeks, pro-Rumanians, pro-Servians, and pro-Turks, it is obviously in its interests to be as impartial as possible. Its Constantinople letter, in its issue of June 5, 1914, includes the following statement: "There has been a good deal of talk of 'atrocities' committed by the Greeks at the expense of Moslems in 'Greater Greece,' and the writer has been at pains to verify some of the stories which he has heard. Thus far he has been unable to obtain confirmation of the graver charges brought against the Greeks. Political murders have, in two or three cases, turned out to be the commercial operations of brigands, who have since added Christians to their bag.

"The Greek officials from Athens seem on the whole to have behaved well; but there can be no doubt that some of the minor Greek officials recruited in Macedonia, and a large section of the Greek population, cannot refrain from pin-pricks, and from what might best be described by the schoolboy word 'ragging.'"

The same paper, in its Salonica letter, tells us: "The immigration and emigration question is daily becoming more acute; so much so, that the commander of the gen-

darmerie, who is our Chief of Police, has issued an order that, whereas during the last and present months 65,000 Greek refugees from Thrace have arrived in Salonica, of whom 12,000 remain here, 4,000 of them being in the vicinity of the Custom-house, and 2,500 still on board steamers, through there being no place available for them, while some tens of thousands, expelled through Turkey, are expected; and whereas, owing to the presence of Turkish emigrants in the towns, there is a danger of quarrels and disputes between the two elements, calculated to cause further excitements and disorder—until this danger no longer exists all emigration through this port, and all entry of refugees into this town, are provisionally prohibited."

In a telegram from Sofia, quoted in the *Morning Post* of June 10, we have the following statement made by the Bulgarian Prime Minister in the Sobranje: "The Government does not approve recent proceedings, and is even desirous of avoiding any suspicion being cast on its attitude, because it wishes to smooth over the strife of the past, and to establish better relations with our neighbours, so as to preserve the Bulgarian element in Macedonia and prevent the exodus of unfortunate people, which is irritating public opinion, and is expensive to the Exchequer. As to the guilty parties, if there are any, they will be punished."

The attitude of the Turkish Government does not appear to be so correct. The *Times* of June 11, 1914, says: "The present acute unrest is attributable to the drastic policy adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is understood to have decided irrevocably upon the expulsion of all Greeks from Asia Minor and from Turkish Thrace," and in a telegram from Constantinople, "bands of Muhadkirs (Turks from other parts of the Empire), led by agitators belonging to the Committee of Union and Progress, who were recently at work in Thrace, have transferred their activities to the Dardanelles and the Anatolian coast. In consequence, thousands of Greeks

have fled, and the local anti-Greek leaders are making small fortunes by buying their sheep and cattle at ridiculous prices, and reselling at a huge profit. In some cases there has been considerable destruction of property."

Later still (June 19, 1914) we are told: "I calculate that up to the present time between 4,000 and 5,000 people have quitted Chesmé town, and a like number the neighbouring district. As regards Aivali and Adremite, reports from Mytilene announce the arrival of over 6,000 from the mainland opposite.

#### "THE YOUNG TURK SCHEME

"This quartering of Mussulman refugees from Macedonia in all Greek villages situated on the Asiatic sea-coast, and particularly in those lying opposite Chios and Mytilene, would appear to be the practical application of a general political scheme recently adopted by the Ottoman Government. All indications go to prove that the object of the Young Turks is to interpose a barrier between the islands and the Asiatic hinterland in the shape of a solid mass of Mussulman inhabitants all along the coast. This, in the opinion of leading official Turks, will ultimately, and as a natural consequence, put a stop to, or at least considerably diminish, all the Pan-Hellenic propaganda which has been going on for years, and which has received immense impetus owing to the facilities afforded by the proximity of Chios and Mytilene, now in Greek hands. The propagandists have always found amongst the sea-coast Greek rayahs a fruitful soil for their activities. 'Sterilize' this soil and penetration into the hinterland would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Such, in a few words, is the line of reasoning which, coupled with a natural desire for retaliation, and an innate hatred of the Greek race in general, has led to the decision forcibly to quarter Mussulman refugees in Greek villages. So long as this policy is carried out unaccompanied by rape or murder, it is difficult to imagine how any outside interference can be

effected with reasonable hopes of success. But should excesses take place on a large scale, then may foreign intervention be speedy and severe, for the match once applied to such inflammable stuff as Moslem Macedonian refugees, a conflagration might ensue which would not leave a single Christian alive in Asia Minor. The Government are now aware of this danger, and spare no efforts to keep their co-religionists well within bounds, but a word of warning in the right quarter might do much to diminish the risks of a general upheaval."

It should also be remembered that the Greeks are in the habit of looking at all this Balkan territory as belonging to them by long-established rights; they have, of course, forfeited these rights by conquest, but they feel that they have a moral right to attempt the reconquest. And this is not only, or indeed mainly, because of their heirship to the Byzantine Empire. The sense of ownership dates back far farther, to the days when their ancestors colonized these lands, and founded trading-marts and cities in them. After all it was the Hellenic imagination—love of natural beauty, perhaps; the mercantile marine instinct, perhaps—which went *εἰς τὴν πόσιν* and discovered Byzantium. And this claim to a founder's privileges is not a mere empty sentiment; it is this that heartens the refugees from Thrace to hope for a new Constantine's hold over Constantinople; it is this that brought over 40,000 patriots to fight for Hellenism and Christianity—convertible terms for them—against the barbarians.

Something, of course, will have to be sacrificed, not only during the cross-migrations, but in the final result. Although homogeneousness of population in a state may, from some points of view, be ideal, it has, in some directions, drawbacks. For instance, the Bulgarians are bad gardeners: no race is more capable of supplying our society beauties with their attar of roses (not synthetic) than they. And what is Turkey going to do without her commercial Greek? Thrace and Asia Minor without Greeks are unimaginable.

Armenians may act as salesmen, but as secretaries and clerks, who can do the work done by the Greeks for hundreds, even thousands, of years? And who will run the ports? Since the days of the Phœnicians, who were probably their precursors and instructors, the trade of the Levant has been in Greek hands. And it is exactly between the sea and the hinterland that the Young Turks are supposed to be resolved to impose a Moslem feeder. Ever since the days when Æolian, Ionian, and Doric (A, I, D will aid the memory as to their distribution in Asia Minor) peopled that country, they have only tolerated the Persian or the Turk as ruler—never as owner. Their ambition has been in the first place commercial rather than political, but the Hellenic idea is rooted deep in the heart of every Greek, however long he may have been in bondage. Besides, his bondage is not degrading; at any rate, not for him. It has been his habit to impose his customs, his culture, and often even his language, on his conqueror. The Greek type can no more be obliterated or bullied out of existence than the Jewish. So the Young Turks had better retain as many Greeks as they can, in Asia Minor at any rate.

I think a calm perusal of the different official and unofficial accounts will establish the fact that the higher authorities in Bulgaria, Greece and Servia are doing their best in very difficult circumstances. With regard to Turkey one does not feel quite so sure. The Young Turk is—well, he is not the Old Turk, whose methods we at any rate understood; and the ejection of Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace certainly looks as if it were more than connived at by the authorities.

As for the Turks, a word of advice is given in a book of sonnets entitled "*The Wider West*," which was published about a year ago.

#### JIHAD

Mashallah! Splendid! Ring the clarion loud!

The greatest of Jihads we see begin!

Allah has pardoned our unfilial sin—

Laid it to rest in many a pallid shroud.



The Sun is clear, fled is the fleeting cloud ;  
We hear anew the darkling battle's din ;  
Most glorious the victories we shall win,  
For all to Allah is now freshly vowed.

Our new Jihad shall be against the Ginns,  
The Giaour in ourselves, the doubts abhorred,  
For which we've drunk death's chalice to the brim.  
A holier life shall purge us of our sins.  
Sent forth by God we must go back to Him,  
Humble, more worthy of our perfect Lord.

Let them ; and Europe will sympathize and applaud.

It is probably not too late yet for a conference to be held consisting of three representatives of each of the states concerned, under the chairmanship of some distinguished man appointed by the Powers. There is not the slightest reason why there should be any rivalry between the alliance and the entente. While a scheme was being drawn up for the exchange in detail of the various properties, a truce would naturally be called, and there would be an improvement in relations temporarily, and this would tend to permanency in the case of farms which it might be found impracticable to barter.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of the Press and the public to be patient. Europe must be led to realize that this intermigration was a thing that had to come to pass, and that will prove for the ultimate good—the inestimable good in days to come—of the Near Eastern nations. It is only in this way that the Balkan spectre can be laid to rest for ever.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT ALBANIA

BY C. TELFORD ERICKSON

"He who misses the pathetic fact that Albania's case is a pathological one—be he Prince, Commissioner, Diplomat, or Journalist—is hopelessly in the dark in dealing with the present situation from any standpoint."

THE present turbulence—revolution, if you are pleased to call it so—is a symptom and a sign to be read as a high pulse and fever are read by the physician, and therefore to be dealt with in the same spirit and to the same end—namely, the eradicating of the disease and the cure of the suffering patient. Moral degenerates have been cured by the lifting of some pressure on the brain. Mental imbeciles have been restored to normal minds by the removal of some extraneous growth, or the substitution of a living, healthy tissue for a diseased one. Albania is neither a moral degenerate nor a mental imbecile, but there is danger that, unless the treatment she has received in the past and is receiving in the present is radically altered, she will become both, to the lasting menace of Europe's peace and the well-being of humanity. Fever patients are no longer strapped to their beds, nor moral degenerates put in "straight jackets," to discipline them and save the community from their violence. Why should these methods be applied to Albania? It is so easy to vilify or to blacken character, especially when the character of a weak, struggling nation is assailed by those who hope to profit by her

humiliation, and there is no strong nation willing to defend her honour without price, and just for honour's sake.

Albania has had more than her share of traducers and blackmailers, whose price for silence is that this nation crush out the racial instincts and sentiments extending back into far antiquities, ages before their persecutors ever had a racial consciousness, and commit hari-kari for their sakes. Briefly described, what are the symptoms which this "patient" discloses: for years the country has been in an almost constant state of insurrection, not to say anarchy. Turkey has had to maintain armies there numbering from twenty to eighty thousand strong, and an uprising was only suppressed in one quarter to break out in another. The Turkish Government apparently hated the Albanians, and were hated as genuinely by the Albanians on their side. Albanian leaders were fond of quoting an Arab proverb to me that "Allah gave two pests to mankind, the locust and the Turk."

What was the cause underlying all this? Briefly, refusal of Turkey to recognize Albanian nationality. From the Turkish standpoint, because the majority of the Albanian people were Muhammadan, the nation must merge itself into the Empire, and submit itself to be Ottomanized. Its manhood must fill the ranks of the Turkish army, generally for Arabia, where from 75 to 90 per cent. of them perished. Their taxes must go to Constantinople for the Imperial treasury, and the levy was always high, though not always collected. As loyal Ottoman subjects, they must not concern themselves with such questions as the Albanian language, Albanian schools, roads built with their own taxes (which amounted for this purpose, in some parts at least, to 2s. 9d. per head), the development of the resources of the country, the improvement of industrial and agricultural conditions. They must be content to suffer, to sacrifice, to starve, to suppress every national interest and aspiration, even the national consciousness itself, to the end that the glorious Empire of the Padisha might be preserved.

When the people saw the officials of that Government, foreign to them in race and language, thriving on oppression, their loyalty and patriotism (and the Albanian people are by nature intensely loyal) would not stand the strain. Hence there was rebellion. It is true that it never accomplished much, for Turkey, with all the power in her hands, was able to so play one district off against another as to effectually checkmate anything like a united and nationwide uprising. The Greeks were given a free hand in Southern Albania for their propaganda, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and by means of schools and churches, priests and teachers, an army of political agents, even armed bands of brigands to bring force to bear when necessary, they effectually neutralized all effort in Southern Albania. In Northern Albania it was the Catholics under the protectorate of Austria, with the unofficial participation of Italy, that isolated, but to a much less degree denationalized, another large group. They were so controlled that independence of action and initiative was practically impossible. Another factor of division was the blood feud, arising undoubtedly from the fact that no justice was administered by the Government, therefore the individual sought it for himself, taking vengeance that must in turn be paid back; and so this horrible system fastened itself upon family, and even tribal, groups, setting them in bitterest enmity and hatred of one another. Then a system approximating to feudalism has prevailed in Albania, which has given powerful influence and authority to various chiefs. Many of these men have obtained their position by the personal favour of Abdul Hamid and other Sultans, and these could be counted on to serve Turkey's interests. Also among the hereditary chieftains there existed a great deal of jealousy and enmity and feud. All of these conditions, combined together with the ignorance and poverty of the people, enabled Turkey to keep the country in subjection, and punish with a strong hand any individual or section that might champion the nation's rights.

In spite of these things, during the last three or four years there had grown up a strong nationalist party, with a splendid group of young leaders, representing all parts of the country. And it is significant that only a few weeks before the opening of the Balkan War they had succeeded in assembling on the plains of Prishtina, now given over to Servia, such a formidable army that the Turkish Government sent a Commission to make peace with them at any price, which they did by conceding practically every one of the thirteen demands which the Albanians had drawn up. This rather extended review of recent history is necessary in order to give us an insight into the present difficulties, and enable us to diagnose the case and so suggest a remedy.

During the Balkan War the Albanians took a neutral position. They would not fight for Turkey, and their offer to fight with the Allies was refused on the ground that the Albanian territory was to be divided between them. Hence they appealed to Europe, and trusted their cause in her hands.

Again they were treated with great injustice. No concern was shown for their welfare; armies were allowed to traverse the country, to pillage and burn and destroy and massacre the non-resisting inhabitants; no respect was paid to their national rights; artificial boundaries were drawn, cutting off a third of their best territory and over a million of a pure Albanian population, against whom their new Governments have employed all manner of forcible methods in order to coerce them into subjection. I travelled through Albania a year ago, meeting with scores of Albanian leaders, after the northern half of the eastern boundary had been fixed—viz., that between Albania and Montenegro-Servia—and these men would not believe that the great Powers would allow that injustice to stand. They believed that if we only knew the truth (so simple was their faith), justice would be done. Even when for ten months the country was without a Government, save such as their

leaders had hastily constructed among themselves, there was no disorder, no violence in the whole land. They were only waiting for Europe to send them a Prince, and among them all there was not one who said he should be a Muhammadan, or a Catholic, or a Greek Orthodox. They believed he should be outside and neutral.

The ground for the present harvest of revolution and anarchy was in a measure already prepared, but the seed was sown during those ten months of waiting.

Without going into details, the proofs are absolute and incontestable that the uprising in Epirus among the Christian population, as well as that in Central Albania among the Muhammadans, so far from being a spontaneous outburst of the people, were carefully planned and worked out by agents for other Powers, who hoped to profit by the breaking up of Albania, working in conjunction with certain Albanian chiefs, who have always been ready to betray their country for a price.

And it is a thousand pities, first, that a settled Government could not have been established sooner; and, second, that once the Prince and his advisers were established, they did not grasp the situation, and adopt the very simple and obvious measures necessary to reassure and calm the population. Had the Prince made a tour of the country; shown himself to the people; talked with their leaders; recognized and utilized the men of worth and power in their various sections, who knew the country and the nation and its needs, and taken them into confidence; begun the construction of some roads, utilizing the thousands of homeless and starving refugees for this purpose; assured and reassured, if need be, each religious group that full liberty of conscience and worship was to be accorded them, that they had nothing to fear; opened national schools in various centres, all of which would have cost very much less than the extensive campaign that has been conducted with force of gun and cannon—it is certain that in spite of all the enemies without and within, in spite



of the complicated and impossible machinery of government set up by the Powers, the Prince would have won the hearts of this really splendid and noble race, and the horror of these last weeks would have been averted.

With the setting of Albania's Government house in order I have nothing to do. I am simply an American missionary to this people, who believes in them and who loves them, who has sacrificed for them, and is ready, if need be, to do so again. Before any Prince was appointed I strongly advised the Albanian leaders against the plan, urging instead that they ask for Commission form of government, at least for some years—a Commission chosen from some one neutral Power, having no personal interest in the country; a British, or even an American, Commission would have served admirably. The head would be a man with experience in dealing with primitive peoples; each member of the Commission would be an expert chosen for some department because of his knowledge and ability in that department, for agriculture an expert, for finance an expert, all going in without show or ceremony, and setting, to work at once to better the condition of the people. I believe with all my heart that such a plan would have succeeded. I believe that were Albania neutralized by the Powers now, every nation taking its hand off from trying to order affairs there, guaranteeing only the integrity of the state with its present boundaries, giving notice to those Powers who are secretly making trouble to cease—which could very easily be done—that with this, half of her troubles would be at an end. For the other half, it must be recognized that wrongs centuries old have taken root there that thousands are homeless and starving, that the people have been bled and betrayed and deceived with false promises and fed on false hopes so long that only much patience and kindness and sympathy will heal the wound.

Albania is a country rich in natural resources. Thousands of acres of rich, fertile valley lie fallow, waiting for the modern agriculturalist and farmer to reward their labour

with abundant harvests. Near Scutari in the north this valley is narrow, for the mountains come down close to the sea ; but it broadens towards the south, till it is forty to fifty miles wide. Tempered both in winter and summer by the Adriatic, there are no extremes of heat or cold, allowing of a great variety of fruits and grains, vegetables and nuts, to be grown. Olives, figs, grapes, peaches, apricots, plums, apples, as well as other fruits, grow splendidly there, and could become a great industry. Almonds and English walnuts, without scientific culture, grow well, and possess a fine flavour. With a demand as great as there is to-day, this ought to be developed into a very profitable industry. So also melons ; the Casaba melon selling in London for from two to four shillings can be had in finer flavour in Albania for as many pence. Is it impossible that these melons should appear on the English dinner-table only forty hours away ?

Likewise with the grains : the farmers are industrious, hard-working people, men, women, and children devoting themselves together to their fields and crops, growing maize, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, and tobacco. The latter crop is already known in London, and, I am told, very greatly appreciated.

The seasons are long there, with plenty of sunshine and a fair distribution of rainfall, so that two crops, a long and a short one, can be grown easily on the same soil. In one section, where something like modern methods prevail, eighty- to one hundred-fold yield is not uncommon.

So vital in importance do we consider the development of agriculture in Albania that we are bringing out from America an agricultural expert to work in connection with the Mission, but having no funds for this branch of our work, he will be very seriously handicapped. If some "lover of mankind" has at his disposal a few thousand pounds he would find a rare opportunity here to uplift and emancipate a race.

Again, there is every indication that Albania is rich in

mineral resources. This is not only common belief among the people, but the report of a mining expert who went out from London last autumn at my suggestion confirms it. Copper and oil, coal and mica, asphalt and sulphur, are known to exist, as also gold. The mountains also contain a very fine growth of forest that has never been touched. Rivers from the mountains, with the Adriatic nowhere far distant, afford every natural facility for the handling of these various products.

There is one serious handicap to the development of Albania's splendid resources, beyond the political turmoil. The latter is superficial and will pass, but the former is rooted deep in the nation's life. That is the system of land tenure which obtains in Albania. Probably four-fifths of the land is at present held by the Beys in large tracts. Almost without exception, these Beys are "land poor," with very little money for developing their holdings; with the result that three-fourths probably, certainly half, of their land lies uncultivated, given over to wilderness. Small farmers cultivate the land in their primitive way, giving the Bey half of their crop, and, hitherto, the Turkish Government a good portion of the remainder.

Many of the Beys are splendid men according to their knowledge, but a very large number have little concern beyond eating and drinking and other pleasures. The British landlord's care for his tenants, their health, sanitation in their homes and villages, social welfare, their education, their pleasures, their moral and religious life—all this is far removed from the mind of the ordinary Bey, and yet there is a sort of authority exercised (not always wisely) over the dependents, and where there is actual want and suffering it is relieved. The Beys are not as a class selfish—that would be contrary to the native instinct, which loves to dispense hospitality—and these are called upon to do their share; but they are incompetent and inefficient to have such large powers and responsibilities as are at present in their hands. One of the causes set

forth for the present uprising was this very question. The people resent it, and at heart revolt against the system, and it is one of the first duties of a stable Government to deal with this question.

The religious question I will deal with in few words. To-day in Albania there is no religion that commands the general confidence of the people, and is so deep grounded in their lives, so high enthroned, as to be—as religion should be—supreme and dominant and masterful. Certainly not Muhammadanism, which was forced upon them and is inextricably woven up with Turkish misrule. The “Baba” of their religious faith has been at the same time the Padisha of their temporal authority, ever taking more with his left hand than he gives with his right. Hence the Albanians say: “Let the Baba go; what good has he done for us? He never gives, he always takes.”

Of the Greek Orthodox faith, I sometimes think that it is less vital and dominating than Muhammadanism. It is so palpably, openly, exclusively, a political concern. Its priesthood, trained from childhood to deny and hate their mother tongue and race, to believe that the sun rises and sets on the eastern and western shores of Greece, ignorant, narrow-minded men, often given to drunkenness and other vices, are, to a great extent, poor “blind leaders of the blind.” Some, of course, are most excellent men, living honest and sincere lives, who exercise a wholesome restraint over their people; but I am convinced that there must be instituted great reforms in that Church, the bishops and priesthood must give themselves less to politics and more to piety; less to warfare with guns and cannon and armed brigandage, and more to a spiritual warfare against drunkenness and vice and deceit and dishonesty; less to building up a Greek kingdom in Southern Albania, and more to building up the Kingdom of God in righteousness and peace, or else their Church and cause in Southern Albania is doomed, as it should be.

The Catholics in the north are too closely bound up

with Austria. To act as protector, as Austria was commissioned by the Berlin Treaty to do, is one thing; to build their churches and cathedrals, schools and orphanages, pay their priests, subsidize their higher officials, as she has done, is quite another. The Catholic Church is very rich, and had the priests of Albania gone among its members and pleaded the cause of their people, I am sure there would have been generous and ample response. There was no necessity for Government funds and action in these matters. It has worked harm to the Catholic Albanians, it has provoked jealousy in their neighbouring state, Italy, created a rivalry in "good works" that might better have been left undone; for in the minds of the Albanian people, who by nature are proud and free as their mountain eagles, neither Austria nor Italy have gained esteem.

## INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

BY EDMUND J. SOLOMON

ALL who are interested in the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects must now be awaiting the result of the Public Services Commission in India with feelings of mingled hope and misgiving. Hope should be inspired by the presence of several Indian gentlemen on the commission, not to mention so well-known a friend of the Indian people as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald; these may be expected to provide us with an enlightening minority report. Yet the very name "commission" has an ominous sound; 'tis a word of ill-fame in our own "free" country, much more in a land governed by a foreign bureaucracy. Even in England a commissioner may find it hard to extort an honest opinion from an agricultural labourer, to employ an example fresh in our minds. The man is often in deadly fear of offending his landlord, and quite prepared to underrate, or to deny altogether, his grievances, that he may avoid giving offence to the all-powerful master. We are sure to find such an attitude common among the Indian people, for whom the dreaded master is not merely a social and economic superior, but the dispenser of the laws, the commander of the army, the very government of his country. Former commissions have shown that well-educated Indians, and even princes of high standing, are extremely shy of exposing a grievance; a bad name with



a neighbouring civil servant may prove of considerable harm to them in future years.

These facts are likely to impair the accuracy of the details collected by the commission, and to lower the value of their detailed recommendations. But even if no new light be cast on the subjects of inquiry, we may still expect some fruitful results from the progressive element of the commission. Though they discover nothing fresh, they will yet be able to publish some old opinions in an official form ; and there *are* certain opinions, based on the principles of liberalism, that are too well attested to fear the impact of additional evidence, whether of a positive or negative character. One fundamental principle should be unanimously accepted by the commissioners : that it is right to admit Indians into all branches of the civil service, provided the administration does not suffer by such a course. Denial of this principle can but arise from motives of greed, or from uncivilized theories as to the rights of conquest, and for this reason it is rare to find a candid expression of the opposite view. Yet we must not infer absence of low motives from the fact that they are not stated in controversy ; inevitably we regard with suspicion those vague, sweeping accusations against the Indian character, that perpetual harping on the word "prestige," with which we are all familiar. For instance, even if the policy of granting high civil service appointments to Indians be confirmed, it will doubtless be contended that "prestige" requires a predominance of Europeans. Such a contention would seem to be based on a misconception of conditions in India, where most of the peoples are only familiar with local officials, and where a change in the character of the governors would have little general effect distinct from the several local effects where individuals had been changed. No vast question of prestige is involved by the numerical proportions of Indian and European in the service ; our judgment in the matter should depend on an examination of individual cases, whether an Indian official can be intro-

duced into this or that province with convenience. The commission will have done valuable work if it only provides some material for forming such judgments, and for testing the more airy assertions.

Though the commissioners may not express in words the obvious principle we have enunciated, it is to be hoped that they will give due emphasis to its corollaries. It follows in all fairness that, if Indians are to be admitted into the higher civil service at all, the Government should secure the following conditions: firstly, a just system of selection among the Indians themselves; secondly, a practical as well as a theoretical equality of service for Indians and Europeans. Are these conditions observed? We cannot answer "Yes" with confidence. With regard to the first we must ask: Who are the Indians favoured with the coveted positions? Are they the most capable in intellect, the most stable in character, of all the young Indians who aspire to government? Or what other potent cause has selected them from the crowd? In some cases success is due to a merit that is genuinely exceptional.

This applies to two classes of students: to the few who have made such good use of the educational opportunities offered in their native country as to be able to pass the examination without prolonged residence in England, and to those who gain scholarships from an Indian to an English University. As regards these two classes, selection has been on a rational basis; but, unfortunately, they are a minority. Scholarships of the above type are few and hard to obtain, and without such scholarships talent of the rarest character must be displayed; it requires no ordinary cleverness to overcome the deficiencies of Indian education, and it is scarcely surprising that successful candidates, who have come direct from India, are regarded as phenomenal. Thus, though several posts are secured by brilliant young men, for the rest selection is among the wealthy. An advantage that is decisive in nearly all cases is gained by young men whose fathers are capable of supporting them

for several years in England at a University or cramming school. Such a state of affairs is not in accordance with liberal principles, and, moreover, cannot be excused by the circumstances. It is not to the point to exclaim that the Indian aristocratic system should not be disturbed by Western ideas of democracy, that the old order of precedence is too sacred to be tampered with ; as a matter of fact, the civil service candidate is generally of the Anglicized class, the son of a business man, lawyer, doctor, or even of a civil servant. Among this class the significance of wealth is much as in England ; the richer man may be merely the more successful in commerce or in a profession. We should not offer civil service posts as prizes for such success, but rather as prizes for the personal merit of the candidates.

For the furtherance of this ideal, our policy is as follows : university education in India should be made to lead up efficiently to the civil service examination, and the number of scholarships from India to England should be increased. The former scheme is not vastly difficult, for though our English universities are the product of centuries of culture, and inimitable in their particular line, yet as cramming schools they are not of phenomenal value ; for the Philistine purpose of passing an examination they may well be equalled, or even surpassed. No doubt this seems a gross way of putting the case, but the opponents of cramming should think twice before raising their chorus of protest. It is true that our unintelligent system of examination is to be deplored, to be reformed with all speed ; certainly it seems a shame to widen the field for vicious methods of education, to stamp them on the yet plastic universities of India. Our duty is to educate the Indian in the noblest sense, to introduce him to our arts and our science, to place before him the fruits of our Western civilization, rather than to strain his memory, and overtax his powers of mental endurance. However much we may be in sympathy with these objections, yet we must look the facts in the face. If we are to

reform Indian education, we must reform the tests for civil service appointments. It would be neither just nor expedient to provide the Indian student with humane and enlightened instruction, and then virtually to exclude him from office; to admit at the end that we have given him the noblest education we can, but that that is quite a poor one in the examination sense. When we consider how many of the students aim eagerly at the civil service, the cruelty and danger of such a position becomes obvious. Of course, any scheme to increase the cramming efficiency of Indian universities would only put things right in part. Still, the selection would have to be among the comparatively wealthy, among those who could afford some weeks in England for the examination itself. To complete the policy of fair selection a complementary scheme is required, and for this reason we have suggested an increase in the number of scholarships from India to England. The scholarships might be divided into two classes; as many as possible providing a complete course of education in England, a number more, of less expense to the Government, merely securing to the holders an opportunity of competing for office.

It will, perhaps, be noticed that the much simpler expedient of holding the examination in India has not been mentioned. Such a course seems at first sight eminently desirable, but difficulties appear on closer examination. In the first place, the Government is not likely to consent to such a scheme—at any rate, in the immediate future; secondly, residence in England is surely useful for men destined to serve under an English Government. This advantage is secured by the holders of residential scholarships, and by those who can afford to come over here on their private resources. If the civil service examination were in future held in India, the residential scholarships would probably be done away with, and private gentlemen would no longer think it necessary to send their sons to England. However, our main point is that the scheme is

unlikely to receive Government sanction for many years to come.

So much for changes in the system of candidature ; but when all is said we have only covered the first stages of the problem. It is of little value to give the fairest opportunities to Indian talent, to throw open the doors of office with unstinted generosity, if the position of the officials appointed is to be one of hardship. The grievance here indicated, being mainly social and intangible, is peculiarly hard to tackle, and we must make use of a particular incident in order to give some idea of its nature. It is an universal practice in India, that whenever a public servant of high standing visits a town outside his personal sphere of action, he should be greeted at the station by the Government officials resident in the town, besides the prominent citizens. In the case of an Indian official, this custom was on a certain occasion completely disregarded. An appeal to the ever-sympathetic Viceroy resulted in a commission of enquiry : the commission gathered nothing but a number of plausible excuses, revealing a strange coincidence of "previous engagements" and "unavoidable accidents." This is not a slight matter, though it may appear so at first glance. Our command in India is like all other commands in one particular—namely, that its efficiency is partly dependent on the harmony and mutual courtesy of the governors. Where this breaks down, a real loss of prestige is sure to follow : for internal disagreement of the governing officials is a sure symptom of weakness. In case of such disagreement, the discomforts of the situation are borne by the passive or insulted party : there will no longer exist the understanding that he has the whole force of the service behind him. If disobeyed, he may be made impotent through the hostility of his equals or superiors in command. That such considerations are not imaginary any civil servant will admit ; how keenly they are felt is shown by the words of an Indian gentleman very high up in the scale of honour, who declared that he



would find it impossible to continue his official duties if it were not for the personal kindness of Lord Hardinge. How is this state of affairs to be remedied? We cannot reply with any definite schemes, as in the case of the former problem. We can only express a hope that the commission will emphasize the point and suggest some remedy, either in the direction of rigid censorship of the behaviour of all civil servants, perhaps by means of periodic boards of inquiry armed with virtual powers of degradation and expulsion; or in the direction of a more thorough examination for public posts than at present obtains, an examination requiring some knowledge of Indian history, religion, literature, and art, wherein the learning of the Indian languages would not be subordinated to practical purposes, but would aim at a philosophic understanding of the country and its people.

If the commission emphasizes such general conditions as these, it will not have been altogether fruitless. Our great difficulty in handling Indian affairs is not the appeal to men's reason; whatever his politics, no Englishman worthy of the name would support many of the abuses now existing: so much that is unreasonable persists, so many reasonable improvements are not attempted. And yet, any responsible Anglo-Indian will admit that this institution is bad, that that reform might certainly be carried out, that a third scheme is only in lack of an initiator; but somehow the impulse of initiation is strangely faint in India. Whence comes this unprogressive spirit? Its origin is to be found in the deliberate selfishness of the unworthy section of Anglo-Indians, and in the domination which this section has obtained over public opinion. Any efforts at improvement coming from a civil servant, or indeed from anyone else, would be hailed in India as a dangerous innovation, and a great deal of self-confidence and self-sacrifice is required to face the clamour. Hence we are faced with a certain sluggishness and timidity even in the worthier Anglo-Indians, and it is this we must strive to



abolish. Our method should be a vigorous backing of all true reformers, and a visible display of approval from this country, that by such encouragement the discomforts of isolation and unpopularity might be counteracted. May we not hope that the report of the commissioners, or at the worst the report of a minority, will help to strengthen the forces of progress, and breathe courage into the enemies of evil traditions.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE PRESS IN INDIA

BY S. K. RATCLIFFE,

Formerly of the *Statesman*, Calcutta

THE history of the Press in India belongs entirely to the British period; but to say this is not the same as to say that journalism had no existence before the rise of the East India Company. The newspaper, or rather the newsletter, was thoroughly established in Asia ages before the appearance of the European trading companies. The *Peking Gazette*, if we may believe the accepted Chinese tradition, has been published continuously for about twelve centuries. We have, naturally, no similar record in the more adventurous annals of India. There the beginnings may be sought in the private or semi-private reports supplied under the great empires to the central government by the provincial administrators and the secret agents maintained in all the districts. The system, as we know, was in force throughout Northern India 300 years before Christ. Megasthenes affirms that the reports were always truthful—one of the various statements made by the invaluable Greek envoy at the Court of Pataliputra which the modern historian prefers to take with a little reserve. The news-writer, whatever his character, was an institution. He kept his place through all the empires of the Middle Age, and his activities were systematically developed under the Moslem monarchs. Their despatches were of two kinds—the *waga*, or confidential letter designed for the private

eyes of the Government, contributed by a staff of official newsmen under the control of the *waganegar*, or State Intelligencer; and the *akhbar*, or semi-public gazette, which was handed about among a large number of people and made to serve a variety of purposes. We are told, for example, that the first news of Sivaji's death was carried to the Imperial Court by the newspapers, and in the early years of the Company the English factors in Bengal made use of them to bring their grievances before the notice of the Court at Delhi. It is interesting to find that the manuscript news-letter remained vigorously alive until half a century ago. Macaulay, writing in 1836, noted that a large number went out every day from Delhi, and he expressed the view that they were often scurrilous far beyond anything appearing in print. Sleeman, during his famous investigation in Oudh in 1849-50, found that the news-letter was an important agency; and so undoubtedly it remained at least until the close of the Mutiny period.

But these primitive forms of the journalistic craft, though interesting to the British administrator as forerunners of the vernacular papers by which he is sometimes troubled to-day, have little relevance to the subject of this paper. The Press of British India was a curiously late growth. There was no English newspaper in the country until a quarter of a century after the acquisition of Bengal. Some fifteen years after Plassy, William Bolts announced to the inhabitants of Calcutta that the want of a printing press in the city was a great disadvantage, and he offered encouragement to anyone who could manage one. But nothing came of the suggestion, and not long afterwards Mr. Bolts was deported, for reasons of the customary kind—"endeavouring to draw an odium upon the administration, and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement." The credit (if the word be admissible) for founding the pioneer English newspaper belongs to James Augustus Hicky, a printer and member of the Stationers' Company of the City of London, who may have gone out under engagement with

the East India Company. In 1780 he launched the *Bengal Gazette*, "a weekly political and commercial paper, open to all parties, but influenced by none"—a descriptive label almost good enough for the best of journals. Most of us, I imagine, are indebted for what we know of Hicky's *Gazette* to an entertaining chapter in Dr. Busteed's "Echoes from Old Calcutta." There is no complete file in existence, though that in the British Museum is better than the one in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It was a double sheet, with a good supply of advertisements, the news consisting of contributions from correspondents in Calcutta and the *mofussil*, with extracts from the European mails. Hicky constantly used his own name, and readers of Busteed will remember the reflection given in these astonishingly ribald columns of life in the Lower Provinces under Warren Hastings. Prominent members of the European community were mercilessly ridiculed by Hicky. Hastings and Impey he abused with a malignity that knew no bounds, and—a point that indicated a certain shrewdness in his judgment of character—the attack upon the Governor-General was frequently delivered through his wife. ("Pay your constant devoirs to Marian Allypore," etc.) Few editors can have surpassed Hicky in scurrility, but he was certainly not indiscriminating. He left Sir Philip Francis alone, but Busteed is mistaken in saying that he made no mention of the duel between Hastings and Francis in August, 1780. The career of the *Bengal Gazette* was brief. It had not been running many months when the Government forbade its transmission through the post. This crippled the circulation outside Calcutta, and the proprietor supplied the outlying places by a service of peons. In 1781 Hicky was in custody, unable to furnish the enormous bail fixed by the Supreme Court on his prosecution for libel by Warren Hastings. He spent many months in the indescribable common gaol of Calcutta, contriving somehow to edit the *Gazette* from his cell. But Hicky's day was done. In the last years of the century he was living in Calcutta,

miserably poor, sending begging letters to Hastings in England, with what result does not appear.

Hicky was, it must be admitted, an unpromising pioneer. His paper had a rival almost from the start in the *India Gazette*, and before the end of the decade there were half a dozen journals published in Calcutta, all in English; the first vernacular organ did not come until 1816.\* The first newspaper in Western India (the *Bombay Herald*) was founded in 1789; in 1791 came the *Bombay Gazette* (not, however, the paper which ceased publication in 1914), and in the following year the two were amalgamated. Indian journalism in those days was a perilous occupation, and summary embarkation for Europe the punishment for a minor misdemeanour, such as the writing of a paragraph deemed offensive, or of a letter to the editor. There was, however, no general control of the Press until 1799, when the Marquis Wellesley took the newspapers in hand. Writing from Fort St. George to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, who was acting for him in Calcutta, the Governor-General said: "I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors. In the meantime, if you cannot tranquillize this or other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to England." His regulations provided that none should be published until it had undergone inspection by the Secretary to Government or his deputy, the penalty for neglect of the rule being instant deportation. Wellesley's regulations were approved by the Court of Directors (Leadenhall Street was to the end hostile to a free Press in India), but they were held up by Dundas at the Board of Control. Wellesley, in the dispatch accompanying the regulations, roundly condemned the journals of the day: "Useless to

\* For most of the material used in this historical summary, I am indebted to the valuable collection of documents brought together by Mr. S. C. Sanial in the *Calcutta Review*, 1907-1912. The Government of India has recently made a grant of £500 to Mr. Sanial for the publication of his "History of the Press in India."

literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to speculators, they serve only to maintain, in needy indolence, a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence." It is worth noting that when years afterwards the Marquis was collecting his dispatches for publication, he left out this one, "the rust of Oriental despotism," having, as J. C. Marshman suggests, "been rubbed off by the friction of constitutional association"—an explanation not altogether supported by the evidence of the extremely interesting Wellesley Papers lately made accessible. Wellesley was one of the most sensitive of rulers, and rebuffs to editors were not uncommon during his term. Apart, however, from personal matters, the Government was anxious, then and afterwards, so long as the British were engaged in hostilities with the "country powers," to prevent the disclosure of naval and military plans—obviously a precaution to be respected.

With the growth of newspapers in the early part of the nineteenth century the Government began, not unnaturally, to give closer attention to the problem of public opinion. New and disturbing factors had entered in. The European schoolmaster and missionary, regularized by the Charter Act of 1813, were at work; and the Government had now to adjust itself, not only to a European population largely antagonistic to the Administration, but to the unknown possibilities of a class of Indians literate in English. In these circumstances it is not surprising that missionary enterprise should have aroused some misgiving on its educational side, especially as embodied in the able triumvirate of Baptists—Carey, Marshman, and Ward. In 1811 the Serampore missionaries had been ordered by Lord Minto's Government to use more caution in their publications, and, in order to avoid compulsory removal to Calcutta, they agreed to submit proofs of their pamphlets before going to press. Under the Marquis of Hastings the control became more stringent. In 1813 new rules were framed, requiring all proof-sheets to be revised by Government.



The Press censorship was part of the duties of John Adam, the Chief Secretary, who for years enjoyed the scourging of newspapers. He struck out, without reason assigned, anything that appeared to him objectionable, and any offence against the regulations was punished in the customary fashion. The licence to reside in India was taken away from editor or printer, and he was forced to quit. Adam met only one foeman worthy of his steel—Dr. James Bryce, of Bombay, a Presbyterian minister, editor and managing proprietor (from 1814) of the *Asiatic Mirror*, the only paper in the western presidency that dared to be independent. Bryce was in perpetual conflict with the censorship, and it was doubtless his constant defiance that provoked Mr. Adam, in 1817, to stretch his power so far as to strike out a critical review of an historical work on the ground that its sarcastic and bantering temper was calculated to provoke irritation! Lord Hastings, however, although he told Dr. Bryce that editing was incompatible with his status as a minister of the Church, was himself inclined to liberty of the Press, and in 1818 he abolished the censorship. It would seem that the determining reason for the step was the Governor-General's discovery that, while he could deport a European editor without difficulty, the law provided no means of expatriating an Indian or Eurasian. He realized that his Council, and still more the Court of Directors, would refuse all proposals for an unrestricted Press. Accordingly the regulations of 1818, which removed the direct censorship, provided that no newspaper should contain any hostile criticism of the Company or its high officers, no discussion tending to create alarm on religious matters, and no private scandal. The change infuriated the authorities of Leadenhall Street, who in an angry reply ordered Lord Hastings to restore the censorship. Their orders, however, were unavailing, for the Board of Control did not forward the dispatch.

The Court of Directors need not have been under any apprehension as to the Indian Government's readiness to

handle a hostile or too independent editor, as the celebrated incident in which James Silk Buckingham figures sufficiently proves. Buckingham was a master mariner who resigned his captaincy of a merchant vessel, with its emoluments of £4,000 a year, rather than take part in the Mauritius slave trade. In 1818, with the backing of many influential admirers in Bengal, he started the *Calcutta Journal* as an entirely independent organ, the editors of the existing papers (nine in number) being at that time directly connected, as Government servants or otherwise, with the Administration. The *Journal* earned large profits from the outset, but its editor soon found himself in conflict with the Government. After a warning, in 1819, the Post Office was instructed to refuse transmission on deferred postage, and Buckingham was weighted with gigantic surcharges. He was forced to give up the names of offending correspondents, and in 1822, after an acquittal in the Supreme Court, John Adam, still the implacable foe of the Press, moved in Council for his deportation. The question of the legality of deportation was elaborately argued in court, and Lord Hastings declined to act. His term, however, was ending, and Adam, as acting Governor-General, got his chance. He gave Buckingham two months' notice to leave India, and the first of the great Anglo-Indian editors relinquished the struggle and returned to England.

Adam took advantage of his victory and of his brief authority as head of the Government. He issued a rule that no paper should be published without a licence. This was strongly resisted. Buckingham appealed against it in the Supreme Court, and the educated Indian community, now for the first time articulate under the leadership of Ram Mohan Roy, petitioned the Governor-General. Both protests were ineffectual. The Directors, not satisfied with Adam's rule, demanded the restoration of the censorship, and complete restriction. The Board of Control appointed a Committee, of which Lord Liverpool and George Canning were members, which decided not to recommend the grant-

ing of any further powers of control. The Directors, therefore, had to be content with supporting Lord Amherst, whose hand was heavy upon the journalists. In 1823 Sandford Arnot, assistant editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was deported, the responsible editor escaping because, as it was explained, he could not be removed without injury to the interests of the shareholders. Those interests, however, were not regarded as paramount, for shortly afterwards the *Journal* was suppressed for reviving "the discussion of topics which had before been officially prohibited." In 1824 C. J. Fair, editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, who had for some time been troublesome to the authorities, was deported, and during the remainder of Lord Amherst's term the Government was continually in conflict with the Press, increasingly chafing under supervision. Thus in 1825-26 two leading papers in Bengal, the *Hurkaru* and the *Chronicle*, came under censure, and the latter provoked the authorities still further by quoting, after a second warning: "And twice the brindled cat has mewed." Few Governors-General have been more completely convinced of the necessity of newspaper control than Lord Amherst, who, in 1826, prohibited servants of the Company having any connection with the Press, on pain of dismissal. This was the first of a series of orders, spread over more than half a century, touching the liberty of Government servants in respect of journalistic writing or control.

We come now to the ten years during which the battle of the Press was thoroughly fought out, and in large measure won by the advocates of free expression. The disbelief in freedom characteristic of the Governors-General from Wellesley to Amherst was not, it should be pointed out, without strong support from administrators of known liberal proclivities. For example: Sir Thomas Munro, the honoured Governor of Madras, argued, in 1822, that the progress of India under British rule was possible only with a restricted Press. He apprehended that the danger in future would come, not from the people, but from the

Native Army; and he expressed the opinion—curiously significant in the retrospect—that the establishment of a free Press “would mean an end of the high opinion maintained of us by the people.” Munro, it will be observed, was concerned with the effect upon the Indian population. Sir John Malcolm, who discussed the question in 1823, had his eye rather upon the European community. He wrote

“The English part of the population is perhaps as respectable a community as any in the universe; but they are not a body of men that any Englishman would designate as a public.”

The great majority, that is, were civil and military servants, privileged merchants, free traders, missionaries, editors, shopkeepers, and so forth! Mountstuart Elphinstone, also, was in favour of control. In 1827, as Governor of Bombay, he made a regulation restricting the establishment of printing presses and the circulation of books and newspapers.

But the tide was by this time setting in favour of liberty. Lord William Bentinck was the first Governor-General to welcome the criticism of Government policy and measures. Instead of terrorizing the English newspapers, Bentinck enlisted their support by a generous supply of official information, and—what is much more remarkable—he encouraged Government servants to discuss public affairs in the Press. The result was a remarkable freedom of debate, which, in regard to two hotly contested questions, went beyond the limit set by the most liberal of Governors-General. The controversy over *Sati*, abolished in 1829, gave a great impetus to native journalism; and Bentinck's stroke of economy—the cutting down, under orders from home, of the regimental allowance (*Batta*)—aroused a furious outcry, which to some extent shook the Governor-General's faith. He wrote in a minute:

“I retain my former opinion that the liberty of the Press is a most useful engine in promoting the good

administration of the country, and in some respects supplies the lamentable imperfection of control which, from local position, extensive territory, and other causes, the Supreme Council cannot adequately exercise."

But he held that, as an indispensable protection, the Government should retain the power of suspending a newspaper. Bentinck, we cannot doubt, went as far as any head of a Government would have gone in 1830; but there was one member of his Council prepared to follow the principle of liberty to its logical end. Sir Charles Metcalfe insisted that there was "no symptom of danger from the freedom of the Press in the hands of either Europeans or Natives." He believed that even the licence of the Half-Batta quarrel had been attended with good results :

"I think" (he wrote) "on the present occasion that it will be infinitely better to allow anything to be said that can be said, than to furnish a new source of discontent by crushing the expression of public opinion."

That, by-the-by, is still the chief argument upon which the case for a free Press ultimately rests. Five years later the citizens of Calcutta petitioned Metcalfe, then acting Governor-General, for the repeal of Adam's oppressive regulation, which was still nominally in force. Metcalfe was eager to comply, and his Council was converted. The Act which freed the Indian Press from restrictions already fallen into desuetude was drafted by Macaulay, the Law Member, who in his minute of May 16, 1835, stated the essential point :

"The question before us is not whether the Press shall be free, but whether, being free, it shall be called free. It is surely mere madness in a Government to make itself unpopular for nothing; to be indulgent, and yet to disguise its indulgence under such forms as bring on it the reproach of tyranny."



Macaulay himself had need of all his liberal philosophy, for the Black Act made him the target of an unmuzzled Press. No prominent Englishman in India was more ferociously attacked. He disdained to seek redress, but took care to put the Calcutta papers out of the way of his sister in the pleasant Chowringhee house, which was afterwards the home of the Bengal Club. The Act of 1835 repealed four restrictive regulations, and left the conductors of newspapers unfettered, save for a declaration of responsibility required from the printer and publisher.

So far, it is important to note, the action of the Government had taken no cognisance of any distinction between the European newspapers and those owned and edited by Indians. To the Court of Directors and the Government in India it was the Press as such that had hitherto been treated as the enemy. The organs of Indian opinion were few and feeble, with negligible circulations, so that the only opposition that the Government had reason to fear came from the European Press. But in the discussions on the Metcalfe-Macaulay Act there are premonitions of the later problem. Two members of Council, in minutes of dissent, called attention to them. H. T. Prinsep remarked that the Native Press was at present nothing, but judging by the first effects of Western education, it was likely to develop into hostility; while Colonel Morison advised that it should be watched by a responsible officer of Government, and urged that a clause should be added to the Bill giving Government the power of instant suppression. Both proposals were negatived. Sir Charles Metcalfe thought they ought to be careful not to make invidious distinctions, and he was persuaded that no restraint beyond that of the ordinary law should be imposed upon either section of the Press. The Directors were, as always, immovable, and they would have repealed the Act straightway had it not been that "such action might be productive of mischievous results."

Then followed rather more than twenty years of a prac-



tically unfettered Press before Lord Canning, at the height of the Mutiny terror, found himself driven, with the unanimous support of his Council, to place all newspapers under strict control for twelve months. Act XV. of 1857 made official sanction and licence necessary for all publications, and gave the Government full powers of prohibition, forfeiture, and suppression. Newspapers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to impugn the motives or designs of Government, to excite disaffection or resistance to orders, to create alarm or suspicion as to alleged interference with religion, or print anything calculated to weaken the friendliness of the Indian Princes. The tempest which assailed Lord Canning in the dark days of 1857-58 is now, happily, nothing more than a shadowy memory, and no useful purpose would be served by dwelling upon the circumstances attending the Gagging Act. It was proposed with extreme reluctance ; it was an emergency measure of brief duration, and as such did not permanently affect the settled policy of the Government in respect of the Press.

When the Government of India passed, in November, 1858, from the East India Company to the Crown, freedom of expression in speech and writing was practically established, and the first Governors-General under the Crown, preoccupied with the work of consolidation and appeasement, were not men with any disposition to revive the old antagonism between Government and Press. The growth of newspapers was now extraordinarily rapid, especially on the Indian side. The new universities were turning out thousands of graduates with a command of the English tongue ; political and social questions were discussed with ever-increasing eagerness, and in the more advanced provinces the educated Indian showed a remarkable talent for journalistic writing. It is hardly to be wondered at that the privilege of free debate, granted to a community in a stage of perilous transition, should have been abused ; and as a result we find the Government, in the years following the transfer to the Crown, being

constantly brought up against the problem of the Indian Press. (After 1857 no person in authority dreamed of Government control of European newspapers.) Sir Bartle Frere, when Commissioner in Sind, had suggested that the vernacular papers should be read by a responsible officer—a proposal criticized by Lord Elphinstone as insufficient. This became, nevertheless, the recognized method of keeping watch over that section of the Press which had the most influence over the masses, and, as a matter of fact, the system evolved by the Secretariats came in time to furnish the vernacular journalists with a greatly extended opportunity. Sir George Campbell, who as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by reason of his personal oddities provided the Indian journals with an inexhaustible theme for satire, pointed out that the Government had enormously increased their publicity and importance by its system of translating, printing, and circulating regular abstracts of their articles. Indeed, he added, "many things are avowedly written in the native papers for the Government translator." Year by year, accordingly, the Government was faced with two questions of policy: Should unfettered liberty be continued to the Indian Press? If not, should restrictions be imposed by special legislation, or by prosecutions under the ordinary law?

It is clear from the official papers of the generation following the Mutiny that these questions were harassing in the extreme to every administrator called upon to consider them. The first step taken was the amendment of the Penal Code by the insertion of the celebrated Section 124*a*. Sir Barnes Peacock and the other revisers of the Code in 1860 had omitted Macaulay's sedition clause, Lord Canning considering it a direct attack upon the liberty of the Press. Ten years later, Sir Fitzjames Stephen's amended form of the clause was accepted by Lord Mayo's Government, and thenceforward anyone attempting to excite disaffection was liable to fine, imprisonment, or even transportation for life. The explana-

tion appended to the clause laid it down that comment made with the intention only of exciting disapprobation of Government policy did not come within the scope of the section. During Lord Northbrook's term of office the Government was deeply concerned with the question of bringing newspaper comment within reasonable bounds, but every suggestion for coercive action was shelved. Sir George Campbell, in particular, gave his mind—a very energetic mind—to the difficulty. Prosecutions, he thought, would in many cases only make the Government ridiculous. The notoriety of a big trial was a positive evil. When the Government of India suggested that Government officers might use their personal influence upon editors, Sir George Campbell begged leave to disclaim the power on behalf of his subordinates. They could only influence by threatening prosecutions. He quoted Mr. C. T. Buckland as follows :

“No article, no letter, no paragraph containing any personal comments, ought to be allowed to appear in a native paper, except under the name and signature of the writer, for which the proprietor should be made responsible in his property and person”—

an admirable principle, applicable to all papers in all countries : provided, a British journalist would add, the law of libel were reformed to make such publicity and responsibility possible. In 1875, consequent upon the appearance, in a well-known Bengali paper, of articles denouncing the Government for the trial and deposition of the Gaekwar Mulhar Rao, the question was reviewed by the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, who was disposed to urge prosecution. The reply from Lord Northbrook was—

“Our conclusion is that, in the present state of the law, it is not desirable for the Government to prosecute except in the case of systematic attempts to excite hostility against the Government.”

The matter was so difficult and so important that the Government of India proposed to take another opportunity

of expressing their views ; but Lord Northbrook went out before the occasion arose, and Lord Lytton, who at least had the courage of his Toryism, addressed himself to the task which one administrator after another had wished to escape. Action, however, was still delayed, for Mr. Arthur (afterwards Lord) Hobhouse, the Law Member, was altogether opposed to differential legislation against the Indian Press. In a forcible note (August, 1876) he confessed his "almost invincible repugnance to stir," pointed out the grave objections against summary procedure, and disclosed his belief that the making a distinction between English and Indian papers could not possibly stand the brunt of discussion. He was persuaded that, in the fury of their attacks upon the administration, the English papers were sometimes actually worse than the Indian, and in regard to outbreaks of what was called "the strife of classes"—*e.g.*, the clamour of the Indian Press against the preferential treatment of Europeans in the criminal courts—the Law Member said :

"We must bear in mind that to a great extent the Natives are right and are only contending for the same objects with our own Government."

This view was shared by the Duke of Buckingham, Governor of Madras, who reminded Lord Lytton that the chief offensiveness of the Native Press "consisted in its statement of unpalatable truths in strong language." The Viceroy, in a minute, admitted that the real crux was the drawing of this particular distinction ; but he affirmed that it was a real distinction and one that it was necessary to act upon. At the instance of Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—who in a semi-official letter to the Government of India said, "I do not believe any country in the world would have stood such writing as we have allowed for the last ten years"—Lord Lytton's Council in 1878 passed a measure "for the better control of Publications in Oriental Languages," more familiarly known

as the Vernacular Press Act. It introduced the principle of taking security from proprietors of vernacular presses, and was in some respects modelled on the Coercion Act enforced in Ireland. The Bill was, of course, fought persistently by the entire Indian, as distinct from the Anglo-Indian, Press ; and it was made the subject of a memorable debate in the India Council, Lord Cranbrook being Secretary of State. There were three dissentient members of Council—Sir Erskine Perry, Sir William Muir, and Colonel Yule. Their minutes make remarkably good reading to-day. To us it seems strange that Lord Lytton and his ministers should have discriminated, not only between European and Indian, but between Indo-English and vernacular papers ; and this particular weakness became instantly patent, for on the morrow of the Act's appearance on the Statute Book the most subtle and ingeniously exasperating of Bengali organs, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, transformed itself between two issues from a bilingual to an English journal, and thus slipped, with derisive chuckles, out of the grasp of Sir Ashley Eden. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed four years later by Lord Ripon, and, save for one critical interlude, the law relating to the Indian Press remained without alteration for thirty years. The exception was the stiffening of the sedition clauses of the Penal Code by Lord Elgin's Government in 1897, as a result of the disturbances which followed the outbreak of plague in Bombay and Poona.

One other expedient of Lord Lytton's term deserves a word in passing—the establishment of a Press Commissionership with Sir Roper Lethbridge as the first incumbent. By the seventies of last century—as Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman* pointed out in a weighty letter to Lord Lytton—the Government had abandoned its former practice of encouraging civil servants to write for the newspapers, and as a consequence the relations between Government and the Press were anything but cordial. Official news was given out with reluctance, and while the papers



in general were, as the first Press Commissioner said, dependent upon what could be picked up at social gatherings, the *Pioneer* had, at great expense, built up a private connection with the several public departments. The disadvantages of this system, or lack of system, were obvious enough. The Press in India, Mr. Knight explained, in the letter just cited, occupied of necessity a position not dissimilar from that of "Her Majesty's Opposition," and "whether that Opposition shall be well-informed and loyal, or the reverse, depends wholly upon the relations established therewith by the Government." The remedy for the unsatisfactory relations then existing, Mr. Knight urged, was equality of treatment in the matter of official news, generous recognition of the whole Press, and, to that end, the establishment of a Government Press Bureau under a responsible and thoroughly equipped officer. The scheme thus outlined was elaborated for the Government by Sir William Hunter, and adopted experimentally by Lord Lytton. The Press Commissioner was entrusted with the giving out of official intelligence and the supervision of the Vernacular Press under the Act. The experiment was welcomed, and for a time it had a fair measure of success. Mr. C. E. Buckland, who had a brief term as acting Commissioner, enjoyed some exhilarating experiences, notably a sharp little encounter with the *Statesman*. But the Press Commissionership came to be filled by a subordinate Secretariat officer, and was abolished. The Government Press Room, revived ten years ago, may be reckoned its negligible offspring.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that the consciousness of a seemingly incurable antagonism between the Government on one side, and the Indian and commercial British public on the other, should have kept alive the notion of a Government organ. The initial suggestion came, I believe, from a member of Wellesley's Government in 1801. It was for a Government press, gazette, and newspaper, and it was vetoed on the ground of expense. The proposal



was revived in the time of Lord Auckland, who could not be persuaded that there existed in the country, outside the official world, a public to support a Government organ, which would have to be "dull and true." The strongest of all advocates of the plan was James Wilson, the Minister who reconstructed the financial administration under Lord Canning. He thought it an essential adjunct to the Government of India, but failed to carry his colleagues further than the printing of certain State Papers at the end of the official *Gazettes*. A committee appointed by Lord Lawrence's Government in 1866 discussed it seriously, but the proposal on that occasion did not survive the opposition of Sir Henry Durand, who argued that it would foster a permanent hostility between the Government and the Press in general. Two years later Sir William Hunter prepared a scheme at the request of Sir Bartle Frere, then a member of Council. He urged the founding of a weekly paper, with one of the Secretaries to Government as editor, the literary organization to be that of a journal of the first class. While Hunter's project was under consideration, Sir Henry Maine opened negotiations with Dr. George Smith, with a view to taking over the *Friend of India* as a Government organ. Dr. Smith's letter in reply was a crushing exposure of the weakness of the scheme, which thereupon appears to have vanished from the file of Secretariat projects regarded as practicable. The idea, nevertheless, re-emerges in one shape or another at intervals; and I remember that about a dozen years ago it found an advocate in the late William Digby. The Government has, of course, made experiments in non-political journalism, the latest, and perhaps most promising, being the *Blue Book Quarterly*, an abstract of official publications just started by the Government of Bombay—an admirable idea, the execution of which is long overdue.

To the student who surveys the history of the Press in India during the century and a half of its existence, it will seem beyond question that the most noteworthy period is

that which lies between the liberating Act of Sir Charles Metcalfe and the restrictive Act of Lord Lytton. Journalism in those forty years underwent a remarkable expansion, and provided a career for many men of striking and original gifts. A chronicle of these—from Marshman, Meredith Townsend, and George Smith of the *Friend of India* to the vigorous fighters of the 'seventies—would be full of personal and literary and social interest, but it is obviously outside the range of this paper. Room, however, must be made for a few notes on the makers of what may be called the main stream of journalistic development.

If we except the Serampore group associated with the *Friend of India*, the men who counted for most in the making of the modern Press belonged to Bombay. John Connon, who conducted the *Bombay Gazette* in the middle of the last century, was said by a high authority to have been the first man in India to introduce careful editing and to discuss important matters of policy. He had a rival in Dr. George Buist, editor of the *Bombay Times* during the years immediately preceding the Mutiny. Buist was succeeded by Robert Knight (who renamed the paper the *Times of India*), while from 1864 to 1880 the *Bombay Gazette* was generally under the direction of J. M. Maclean. For a few years previous to 1864 Maclean had conducted the *Bombay Saturday Review*, and had the good fortune to number among his contributors Sir George Birdwood, Sir Raymond West, and several other accomplished public servants. The rivalry of Robert Knight and J. M. Maclean gave Bombay the unchallenged lead in the country. Of the two Robert Knight was incomparably the more distinguished personality, and for him the claim may justly be made that he was the ablest Englishman who has so far devoted himself to the career of journalism in India. He was the master of a measured and sonorous style, and commanded a knowledge of Indian administration and economics unequalled by any publicist of his time. When in 1875 he established the *Statesman* of Calcutta (the first

of penny dailies in India), and acquired the *Friend of India*, he carried the additional prestige of having sacrificed an important post under Government for the sake of his independence as a critic of public affairs, and accordingly the influence which he wielded in his later years was unrivalled. He died in 1890, after forty years of incessant labour and sustained devotion to the cause of India. In 1902, when I joined the staff of the paper to which he had given—together with the finest character of independence—a tradition of careful writing and editing, I found the name of Robert Knight a vivid memory in Bengal. And we may count it, I think, a particularly regrettable circumstance that no adequate memorial of his career and achievement has been written.

Broadly speaking, the newspapers of India fall into three classes: (1) the British or Anglo-Indian papers, representing the interests of the European community; (2) the Indo-English papers, owned, and for the most part written, by English-educated Indians; (3) the vernacular journals, an important but, to most Europeans, unknown territory.\*

The total number of newspapers is, of course, very large; but on the whole they have not multiplied during the past three or four decades so rapidly as we might have expected. In 1875 it was estimated that there were in India 478 newspapers, 254 of which made up the vernacular Press, against which Lord Lytton's Act was directed. Returns recently published (see the "Decennial Report on Moral and Material Progress," 1913) show that in 1902-03 the total was 657. In 1907-08, owing to the vigour of the Nationalist movement, the number had risen to 733, the highest on record. It fell in 1910-11 (the year of the Press Act) to 658, and at somewhere near this figure it stands to-day.

A descriptive analysis—even the roughest—of the

\* In the latter part of the paper I have reproduced, with alterations, some paragraphs from an article on the Indian Native Press contributed by me to *Sell's Dictionary of the World's Press*, 1914.

contemporary Indian Press as the journalist knows it might easily fill a volume. I can do no more than indicate a few of its salient characteristics.

First, then, as to the European section. The more important of the Anglo-Indian journals are known all over the world. Several of them are powerful and wealthy; they exercise, deservedly, a wide influence, and often display a high level of ability. Besides the *Statesman*, of which I have already spoken, Calcutta has two other English daily papers of long standing and chequered experience—the *Indian Daily News*, which grew out of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and was the first English paper to be sold at a halfpenny; and the *Englishman* (offspring of the old *John Bull*), which for many years provided Sir William Hunter with a pulpit, and (even before the terrific days of the Ilbert Bill agitation) had come to be recognized as the chief repository of the unqualified Anglo-Indian tradition. Bombay has a daily of the first rank in the *Times of India*, and within the past few months has lost one of the oldest organs of public opinion in the country—the *Bombay Gazette*, so long associated with the names of J. M. Maclean and Grattan Geary. In the *Bombay Chronicle*, edited since its foundation in 1913 by Mr. B. G. Horniman, Bombay has an extremely vigorous newcomer, already commanding high respect. European journalism in Madras has for a long period been represented mainly by the *Madras Mail*, a paper which manages to combine, in admirable fashion, modern enterprise with something of the form and character of the journals of an earlier day. Then (I am not attempting a catalogue of the principal papers) there is the daily organ *par excellence* of Anglo-Indian society. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad has been, and remains, inimitable. It follows no other paper, in India or out of it, as regards either appearance or make-up. Its character and attitude and ways are known to us all, and definable by none. Its editorials are as often as not uncommonly well written.

It is semi-official, yet capable at times of astonishing displays of candour. Its advertisements are believed to be the daily solace of lonely officers and lonelier memsahibs in remote mofussil and frontier stations. Anglo-India, in short, without the *Pioneer* is unimaginable. In the not far distant city of Lahore it has a dependent relative, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, henceforward to be remembered in literary history as the paper which, for a few surprising years in the middle of the eighties, was daily got to press by the aid of a singular youth whose genius was soon to be recognized—Rudyard Kipling.

We come now to the second group, the Indian-owned papers printed in English, the organs of the educated classes. It is a commonplace that those classes have produced a remarkable amount of journalistic talent—the Hindus and the Parsees that is, for the Muhammadan Press is still only at the beginning. The educated Indian has very often a keen political sense; he is a born controversialist, and he attains in a great many cases a mastery of the English tongue which is worthy of admiration. Hence the Indian newspaper can as a rule command the services of effective editorial writers, who are able to mould opinion, at times to influence the Government, and very frequently to cause acute discomfort to the district officer or head of the province. But they are, almost without exception, much less successful on the news and mechanical sides. Of the dailies, not all find it possible to subscribe to Reuter's cables; the reporting, sub-editing, and proof-reading are extremely defective, and the organization of a regular news service from all the important centres has not yet been seriously attempted. It should, however, in justice be said that some of these criticisms apply also, in varying degrees, to the European papers. Truth to tell, journalism in India is beset with innumerable difficulties, and the wonder is, not that the product should be imperfect, but that it should approach so nearly to a standard of moderate excellence.

No European who wishes to understand as much as may



be permitted to him of the country and people can neglect the study—I should say the sympathetic study—of the indigenous Press. The line of eminent Indian journalists goes back for considerably more than half a century. Each generation has produced a number of men of high capacity and sense of affairs. The political education of Bengal was in no small measure achieved by Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee, of the *Hindu Patriot*; Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee, of *Reis and Rayyat*; and Kristo Das Pal. Similar service was rendered in Madras by the first editors of the *Hindu*, and in Bombay by the founders of the Parsee Press. Not a few Indian journalists who first made their mark in the seventies and eighties are still at work, continuing into our rapidly changing epoch the style and methods which they learned under mid-Victorian influences—for example, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who for forty years has edited the *Bengalee* in Calcutta, and Mr. Moti Lal Ghose, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which to many a British officer during four decades has seemed the quintessence of the Bengali spirit in its sardonic moods. In general, we may say, the Indian journalists are constant critics of the administration—argumentative or rhetorical, sometimes wielding a satirical style the wit and irony of which sting like fine cords. It is seldom that the Indian papers of older standing fall into violence of tone or expression. The extreme Nationalist writing which provoked the Government into repression came from younger men with different aims.

The English in India have not done much with either the weekly review or the monthly magazine, but both have been developed in a noteworthy degree by Indians themselves. Speaking generally, the eminent Indian journalists of the past generation were not daily leader-writers: their talents and methods were more fitted to the weekly paper. From the days of those who in the first stages of Western education started organs of religious and social reform to the excellent weeklies of to-day, the quality of the



writing has reflected the alertness and variety of the Indian mind. B. M. Malabari's *Indian Spectator*, the *Indian Nation* of N. N. Ghose, the *New India* of Bepin Chandra Pal, the *Mahratta* of Mr. B. G. Tilak, the *Wednesday Review*, the *Indian Social Reformer*—these are a half-dozen out of a score or two, past and present, that might be named, while such papers as the *Comrade* of Delhi, conducted by that able publicist Mr. Mahomed Ali, is typical of the new and vigorous growth of the Moslem Press—hampered, unfortunately, from the beginning by very uneasy relations with the authorities. By no means less illuminating for the student of intellectual and social movements are the monthlies, several of which may be cited as admirable examples of magazine editing. Such are the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), conducted with great skill and enterprise by Mr. S. Sinha; the *Indian Review* (Madras), an excellent miscellany belonging to Mr. G. A. Natesan, the pioneer in India of cheap reprints; and the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), which under the direction of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has made a place for itself as an organ of the best Bengal opinion, with a particular interest in Indian historical research and the activities of the younger school of artists. The magazines are for the most part non-political, but they are not on that account any the less closely related to the main stream of intellectual life. Their contents lists month by month furnish a most striking commentary on the movement of the day, for there is hardly a subject in science, religion, philosophy, literature, or social economy that is not caught in the far-flung net of their editors. And their circle of readers is constantly expanding—an indication, not to be ignored, of the incalculable spiritual forces at work in the India now being shaped.

I cannot pretend to any first-hand knowledge of the third group—the vernacular papers. In certain respects these are by far the most important. They reach a vast public

lying beyond the range of Western influences and still almost unaffected by the gradual changes in the social order. They are apt, accordingly, to be more conservative than the Indo-English papers, although, it is necessary to say many of the more daring and aggressive organs of Nationalism have been printed in the vernacular. As a rule, however, those which have become well established are far removed from ideas of political or social revolution: they represent in the main the standpoint of the orthodox world. They find their way into the small towns and villages, are read by multitudes who have no English, and in consequence the more successful attain a circulation far larger than that of their English competitors. Thus, while the largest figure officially given for an Anglo-Bengali paper in Calcutta is 15,000, the leading vernacular journal of the presidency is believed to circulate fully twice as much. I am told that the style of writing in the vernacular Press is for the most part formal and literary, but the younger organs tend to break away from tradition. One of the wildest Nationalist sheets in Bengal, for example, gained its reputation, as Sir Valentine Chirol has remarked, through the beauty and force of its religious and patriotic appeals; while the first Bengali evening paper to capture the suffrages of the young disciples of Nationalism achieved its effects by the adoption of a vivid colloquialism.

My space is exhausted, and I must compress into a few sentences the main and governing facts, as the Prime Minister would say, of the situation confronting us to-day. Thirty years had elapsed after Lord Lytton's Act before the Government of India determined upon any further legislation for the control of the Press. During those years, except for a few prosecutions under the sedition clauses of the Penal Code, speech and writing were free—as completely free as in England, immeasurably more free than in Ireland. So long as a writer, or speaker, refrained from the use of words directly inciting to violence, he was at

liberty to say what he chose in the way of attack upon the Government, its policy, or its servants. Now and again there was heard a call, from one quarter or another, for restriction, but one Viceroy after another preferred to govern without arming himself with any powers outside the ordinary law. Even Lord Curzon, who suffered more severely from newspaper denunciation than any ruler of India since Canning, let the journalists have their say. It was the rapid spread of the Nationalist agitation after 1905 that caused the Government to reverse its policy. First, the sedition clauses of the Penal Code were applied. Indian editors and printers made constant appearances in the courts, and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The desired result was not achieved. Heavier sentences were inflicted, but still the stream of prison editors continued. The Government then resolved upon securing additional powers. The Act of 1908 empowered the district magistrate to order the confiscation of an offending press. And, finally, the Press Act of 1910 imposed the most stringent form of control by requiring financial security. Under this law the proprietors (Indian, of course, not European) must be prepared to furnish security up to the amount of Rs. 2,000 (£133) in the case of a new paper, or Rs. 5,000 (£333) in the case of a paper already existing. In case of offence the local Government may declare the money forfeit; further security, up to Rs. 10,000 (£666) is then demanded, and in the event of a second forfeiture the paper may be suppressed and the press confiscated. Such is the law at present in force. It has had a restraining, not to say terrifying, effect upon Indian proprietors, editors, and leader-writers, and as a consequence the condition of the Indian Press is to-day extraordinarily, indescribably, different from what it was ten, or five, years ago. The question before us—I think the most urgent and momentous practical question of the hour in India—is this: Is it well for India, and for the British Government in India, that the expression of opinion should remain

sternly controlled as it is under the Act of 1910? Or, in view of the happy, and universally acknowledged, results of the Morley Reform Act and the Royal Visit, should partial freedom—at least the reality of appeal to the High Court—be restored? Or, again, should the older English view prevail once more, and the Indian journalist be permitted, within the limits of the ordinary law, to speak the thought that is in him?

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Wednesday, June 17, 1914, a paper was read by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Secretary of the Sociological Society, and formerly of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, entitled, "The Press in India." Sir Arundel Arundel was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Wilson, Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.S.I., Sir Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Wigley, C.I.E., and Mrs. Wigley, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Dr. A. D. Pollen, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. I. S. Haji, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Syed Athar Hosain, Mr. H. D. Cornish, Mr. J. R. Chalmers, Dr. Jobson Scott, Mr. E. Long, Mr. Kiran C. Ghose, Mr. Sampuran Singh, Mr. J. H. Row, Mr. and Mrs. J. Macdonald, Mr. C. R. P. Roberts, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Krishna Sahay, Mrs. Rickmers, Mr. M. S. Masters, Mr. R. P. Misra, Mr. S. R. Dubé, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. G. Cameron, Mr. T. J. Fisher, Mr. and Mrs. S. Sinha, Mr. R. N. S. Dormar, Mrs. White, Miss L. Whitworth, Mr. R. Biske, Mrs. Forrest, Mrs. Druce, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Miss Wade, Mr. P. Bose, Miss Beadon, Shaikh M. H. Kidwai, Mrs. S. Hossain, Mrs. and Miss Barker, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, Mr. W. A. Khan, Mr. W. H. Khan, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. and Mrs. David Alec Wilson, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Miss Massey, Miss Annie Smith, Dr. T. Summers, Miss Hughes, Mr. Shah Naimatullah, Mrs. Mulla, Mr. A. Ali Khan, Mr. Syed Jamal Hasan, Mr. John H. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. B. B. Varma, Mr. E. R. Bevan, Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. D. Leahy, Mrs. Howes, Miss Greenstide, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Colonel Warliker, Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Mr. Muhammad Ishaq, Dr. Clark, Mr. and Mrs. John Oates, Mr. J. E. Cooper, Miss Gertrude Toynbee, Mrs. Haig, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE HON. SECRETARY : I am sorry to say Lord Reay has been obliged to hurry away to another important meeting, but I am glad to announce that Sir Arundel Arundel has kindly consented to preside.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely sorry that Lord Reay, who is in every possible respect the one Chairman we should have liked to preside over this gathering, has been unable to stay after the Annual Meeting of the Association. The only thing now for me to do is to introduce the lecturer to you. I once had the pleasure of meeting him in India before I left the Service, when he was editor of the *Statesman*. Since he left India he has been on the staff of the *Daily News* and other papers. I have had the pleasure of reading his paper, and it is what I may call an interesting historical résumé of the Press in India. I will now call upon him to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN : I think you will all agree that we have had what I promised at the beginning—a most interesting paper from Mr. Ratcliffe. The only thing which occurs to me now is to try and forecast what form the discussion shall take. This will be influenced by the concluding part of his remarks, which are not included in the paper.

I think we all agree that it is a most difficult problem we have to solve. In the first place, a great deal depends on the age of the person who offers his criticism. The young man is much more hopeful, and has less fear of the future. Every man as he grows older usually becomes more cautious in what I may call investing in the future.

Again, it is a question to a large extent of nationality. In England we have the development of a free Press which has been going on for centuries, ever since Milton wrote his famous paper on the "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." We have gradually settled down to this, that, as far as individuals are concerned, it is a question of libel which can be fought out in the Courts, or for the Government to prosecute if there is anything absolutely seditious or illegal, or calculated to lead to mischief by an attack upon religion or decency. So far it has worked fairly well in England. The question as to criticisms on the Government is entirely different in England from what it is in India. In this country we have not only those who attack the Government, but those who defend the Government, and very often they are nearly equal in number. The opposition becomes the normal successor to the Government for the time being. In India, if the Government could be turned out by adverse vote, as in England, there is no one to take its place, therefore the critic is in quite a different position; he has not the restraint of possible responsibility. He has not got the reserve which comes upon him if he feels that his party will have to assume office and carry on the work of the Government. The Government, on the other hand, feel that they must reserve the power in their own hands to preserve the peace of the country. The problem is one of profound difficulty. In this country our sympathies are naturally in favour of liberty, but then comes the difficulty of the fundamental duty of keeping the peace of the country.

In India the free Press is an introduction from the outside, an exotic



which was never known in the old days. We know that the Native States in India retain a very large power of suppressing anything they disapprove of in the way of writings to the Press. It is certainly a matter on which we want the wisest heads to give us their assistance and advice.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the following letter, which had been received from Sir Roper Lethbridge: "I greatly regret that I shall be unable to attend the reading to-morrow of Mr. Ratcliffe's able and interesting paper on 'The Press in India.' For, as I was personally and directly concerned in many of the events referred to by Mr. Ratcliffe, I should much have wished to join in the discussion. I hope that the Hon. Secretary will do me the favour of reading to the meeting one or two remarks I should like to offer on this excellent paper—anything like detailed criticism or amplification I must defer until another opportunity.

"In the late sixties and early seventies of the last century I was a Professor in the Bengal Education Service, and, by special permission of Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, I was allowed to devote my spare time to editing the *Calcutta Review* and writing leading articles for the *Englishman* and the *Friend of India*, and occasionally, also, for the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India*. It thus came about that when Sir George Campbell and Lord Northbrook, in 1872 and 1873, were consulting with Dr. George Smith, of the *Friend of India*, as to the relations between the Government and the Press, I was invited to join the discussion. Dr. Smith was then contemplating retirement, so it was arranged that on his giving up the *Friend of India* and the post of Calcutta correspondent of the *London Times*, I should be *seconded* in the Bengal Education Service in order to take up these two appointments, and thus provide a link of communication between the Government of India and the English Press, both in India and at home. This was Dr. Smith's idea—and if it had been carried out, and if the work on the Vernacular Press subsequently confided to the Press Commissioner had been added to it, there might never have been a Vernacular Press Act. Dr. Smith had obtained the sanction of the proprietors of the *Times*—at that time the weekly telegram from Calcutta occupied a whole column of the *Times* every Monday morning, and was of immense political importance—and I had arranged to move to Serampore, when Sir George Campbell was suddenly succeeded by Sir Richard Temple, Lord Northbrook by Lord Lytton, and the new régime favoured more drastic measures; for after Lord Northbrook's very necessary deposition of the Gaekwar, the Vernacular Press had become distinctly seditious, especially in the Mahratta country. Lord Lytton decided that there should be a special officer of Government, to be called the Press Commissioner, who should openly and avowedly represent the Government with the Press, both English and Vernacular. He was to be the exponent to the whole Press of the inner meaning of the Government policy—a very necessary function at a time when there was no right of interpellation in the Legislative Councils. And he was to be the 'whipping-boy' for the Government with the Press—every editor having the right to interview or write to the Press Commissioner, to make complaints, to verify facts, and to obtain an authoritative statement of the

Government's policy. And, incidentally, the Press Commissioner was to have certain restrictive powers over those vernacular editors who chose to misrepresent his facts or his statements of Government policy—powers only to be exercised under the control, and with the formal sanction, *first* of the Local Government, and *secondly*, of the Government of India. Nothing could be fairer than this.

"I think that Lord Lytton's plan was better than Sir George Campbell's in that it was perfectly open and above-board. The Press Commissionership itself, with its duties of reference and instruction, was immensely popular with the whole Vernacular Press—as was shown by the fact that when, in 1881, its abolition was decreed by Lord Ripon, as if it were a necessary consequent of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, a petition for its retention, that was organized by Raja Kristodas Pal of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Babu Norendro Nath Sen of the *Indian Mirror*, was signed and warmly supported by every vernacular editor throughout India except three! I still possess a copy of that petition with all its signatures, which I highly value as a certificate of good conduct! I may add that Mr. Ratcliffe is wrong in supposing that Mr. C. E. Buckland succeeded me as Press Commissioner.\* I wish he had, as I feel sure that his tact and ability would have obtained for the office a longer life—he only acted for me while I was on furlough, and when I was touring through the European and African provinces of the Ottoman Empire, under Lord Lytton's orders, to establish friendly relations between the Arabic Press of those countries and that of India.

"With regard to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the mistake made by Lord Lytton's Government, as I think—and in that mistake they have been followed by all their successors—was in laying too much stress on the punitive powers conferred on the Press Commissioner. During the whole term of the Press Commissionership I never once had occasion to put those punitive powers into force! Only once did I even reach the penultimate stage, that of a warning of punitive action! In all other cases of difficulty full and frank sympathetic discussion between the editor and myself resulted in an amicable arrangement that was never broken. And when I retired from the Press Commissionership, and the office was unhappily abolished, there was not a single vernacular paper in all India that could be called obstinately seditious!—though naturally, after that great mistake on the part of Lord Ripon's Government, they soon sprang up again like mushrooms. The poor little substitutes of a Government Press Room—with the added insult to vernacular editors of referring them for information to some subordinate Secretariat officer—were worse than useless. What Lord Lytton's Government ought to have done in 1878 was to pass a measure, not 'for the better control,' but 'for the better information and guidance' of publications in Oriental languages—creating and endowing the Press Commissionership, (a most popular measure), setting out the rights and privileges conferred on vernacular editors in connection therewith, and only noting in brief and non-irritating clauses the correctional power that the Press Commissioner would possess

\* Mr. Ratcliffe has since corrected this slight error in his paper.

in the rare case of the abuse of those rights and privileges. As it was, the Press Commissioner was never given a fair chance—at home he was denounced in an ignorant House of Commons as a ‘Russian Censor’—and no sooner had the whole Indian Press learnt to know the beneficent nature of his operations, than Lord Ripon came out pledged beforehand to abolish the office when repealing the Vernacular Press Act, and bitterly regretted it when too late.

“With regard to the English Press of India as affected by the Press Commissionership, I cannot attempt to deal with the subject in this note—I have an immense number of letters from the late Mr. Robert Knight (of the *Indian Agriculturist*, and subsequently of the *Statesman* which he founded at this time), the late Mr. William Digby (of the *Madras Times*), and the late Mr. James Maclean (of the *Bombay Gazette*), which I have long intended to publish in order to elucidate this subject. The great difficulty was, of course, as Mr. Ratcliffe indicates, the serious injury done to the *Pioneer*. My old friend, Sir George Allen, had spent enormous sums in building up that great paper, and paid most princely fees to large numbers of highly placed officials as contributors in every Simla Department—with the consequence that every impending official change of every sort and kind was for a long time always announced first in the *Pioneer*. Every official in India was interested in these announcements, which I suppose were worth to the *Pioneer* and its highly paid contributors many tens of thousands of pounds annually. Naturally enough, not only Sir George himself, but also many of his contributors, were indignant at the prospect of losing this favoured position—and this was a great difficulty that had to be faced by those who favoured a more diffused system of information.

“ROPER LETHERIDGE.

“June 16, 1914.”

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said they were under the greatest obligation to Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe for the lecture with which he had so kindly favoured them. It was a most ably drafted document, and would prove of permanent value as a readily accessible store of far and wide gathered informations on a most interesting and suggestive subject much of the earlier history of which survived only in the traditions of a few men who, like myself, must soon cease to live to any of the more serious purposes of their latter-day contemporaries. The point made by Mr. Ratcliffe that pleased me most was his clear demonstration of the fact that the vehemence of invective and the violence of vituperation, which too often defamed the character and stultified the influence of the Vernacular Press of India is of the direct foreign infection of the earlier English Press of India. I do not say that the native Indian journalists have not afforded “a congenial culture” for such “poisoning”—to use the language of bacteriologists—for the spiritual-minded Bengalis are, by reason of their highly psychical temperament, very apt to pass, in the turn of a tide, from over-civility to over-violence; and—as in the illuminating instances of Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon of Kedleston—to regard the God of yesterday as the Devil of to-day; but the hard historical proofs remain that it was we our-

selves who set the native journalists of Bengal, and the native journalists over all India, the despicable and self-destructive example of a "bad Press" for the British *Raj*—ever, on the paltriest provocations, but too apt to raise its most vixenish of voices against the Government. Mr. Ratcliffe has shown his characteristic subtlety of insight, and certitude of intellectual discrimination, in keeping this fact in view throughout his lecture; and it should never be lost sight of by our stay-at-home English critics of the Indian Vernacular Press. But it would be happier all round if the latter ceased henceforth from ever placing itself in need of an English apologist for its childish indiscretions before an English audience.

I would ask Mr. Ratcliffe to add to what he says on the origin of newspapers in China, that the *King-pau*, literally "Capital-sheet," known as the *Pekin Gazette*, began to appear, at first irregularly, A.D. 911, just 1,003 years ago; and regularly every week A.D. 1315—exactly 999 years ago; and that at present it appears in three editions—the morning edition [*Hsing-pau*, or "Business-sheet"] of yellow paper, giving the commercial and industrial news of the previous week; the midday edition [*Shuen-pau*, or "Official-sheet"], also of yellow paper, giving the "Orders in Council," the Court Circular, and other official news; and the afternoon edition [*Tilani-pau*, "The Country-sheet"] of red paper, giving all the general news of the week, for the edification of "country cousins": and in all its editions it is edited by a "Council" of six "Members of the Academy of Science." Between the Savage and the Athenæum Clubs, our best London papers have hitherto been edited in a closely analagous manner; but to-day, alas! and more and more every day, at the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that buy and sell advertisements.

I am very grateful for the full account Mr. Ratcliffe has given of the origins of the Newspaper Press of Bengal. He has not named my old friend Joachim Hayward Stocqueler, founder of *John Bull*, afterwards *The Englishman*, the author of "Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Untrodden Tracts in Kurdistan and Persia," 1831-32, and one of the contributors to, and the editor of, "The Anglo-Hindustani Handbook," 1851, placed in my hands when I went out to India in 1854 by Captain William J. Eastwick, who gave me my medical appointment in "the Hon. East India Company's Service," on their Bombay establishment. I knew Stocqueler intimately during the last ten years of his life; and he was one of the three handsomest men I ever saw in my long life, and the most aristocratic-looking, judged by the Greek canons, and the very best of good company under every vicissitude of the adversities that hastened his death. I also came to know Mr. James Silk Buckingham personally while I was a medical student in Edinburgh, and I had long before that known him as a public lecturer and Member of Parliament for Sheffield. I only wish Mr. Ratcliffe had been as full in his information of the Bombay newspapers as of those of Bengal. After all, long before Calcutta—even before Delhi—Bombay is the actual capital of India. Calcutta is huddled away, out of sight, in a chaotic corner of the Bay of Bengal, but Bombay is in the very forefront of India—the magnificent, the enchanting frontispiece of India—and so near to England that its streets seem to be but a continuation of those of London,

and its Gujarati, and Muslim, and Parsi merchant princes, fellow Englishmen. Dr. George Buist, LL.D., was not only one of the ablest and most learned of Anglo-Indian journalists, but a profound student of all the natural sciences, as is sufficiently attested by his papers in the Reports of the British Association, in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and in the Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay; while his "Catalogue of Books and Papers on Indian History," and things of India in general, is still invaluable as a handbook for the first aid of all Englishmen responsibly connected with Indian affairs. I have during the past forty-four years lent out four copies of it, not one of which has as yet been returned to me. He was almost always "against the Government"—that is, of the East India Company—as was natural in an "Interloper"; but they knew the sterling worth of the man as "a dragon of honesty," and in his old age they, with the redeeming sense of public generosity found in all English officials, appointed him "Superintendent of the Government Press" at Allahabad. After George Buist I must rank Mr. Robert Knight, who, with Mr. Matthias Mull, founded the *Bombay Standard*, and shortly afterwards amalgamated it with the *Bombay Times*. I was a personal friend of both these gentlemen, and on their consulting me I suggested that the amalgamated papers should be named the *Times of India*. They were quite shocked at first by "the cheek" of it, obsessed as they were by the dominating reputation of the *Englishman*, the *Friend of India* and the *Pioneer*. But that was the very reason for my suggestion, and within six months "the cheek" of it was overwhelmingly justified. Among the writers in the *Times of India* beside, those named by Mr. Ratcliffe, were Professor J. P. Hughlings, of Elphinstone College, a most cogent and convincing literary and historical controversialist; Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University; Mr. James Taylor, at one time "reader" of novels for Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., and as such the first to recommend to them for publication the manuscript of "Jane Eyre"; and occasionally, on his own account, Sir Charles Trevelyan. I must also mention Mr. William Walker, a retired sergeant of the Horse Guards—"the Blues," I think—who had mounted guard on William IV., and in Bombay kept a shop for the sale of cheap American carpenters' and gardeners' tools. He wrote the purest English, with great directness and force on minor social subjects, over the signature "Tom Cringle." I positively edited the *Times of India* for a fortnight or three weeks. I usually wrote the "snapshot" article on the current political news from Europe, and on Knight once falling sick of a fever, and asking me to occupy his chair while he was ill, I gladly accepted the invitation, having found it very trying during the fighting then going on in Italy to give full expression to my strong sympathy with the Pope of Rome, owing to Knight's equally marked sympathy with the Garibaldians. In my first article, *ex cathedra*, I wheeled the foreign policy of the paper "right about face," and repeated "the movement" the following week, and, I think, for a third week, when, on the paper being read to Knight, he at once sprang out of his bed in Colaba, and sending for "a buggy" while he dressed, galloped off in it to the Fort, and presently had literally emptied



me out of the editorial chair, and all but literally kicked me downstairs—a very steep, dark flight—into Meadow Street. But he found it impossible to completely ignore my *volte-face*, much more to repudiate it; and as it had cured him of his fever—the completest cure in all my practice of medicine—the final result of the escapade was that Knight and I continued to work on together better friends than ever before. Mr. John Connon, the first editor of the *Bombay Gazette* known to me, was a master of Doric English, as founded on Cobbett; and being gifted with an equally simple and clear and hearty honesty of purpose in life, he, in all he wrote and did, exerted a most salutary influence on the social and commercial and official world of Bombay. He was followed by Mr. James Geddes, a most accomplished professional journalist, who later on became well known in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. After him came Mr. James Maclean, who had made Manchester too hot for himself on account of his acrimonious declamations against Mr. John Bright. He was the first to introduce into India sound political journalism as distinguished from “board of ship journalism,” as it everywhere was in India before Maclean’s advent. He wrote splendidly at times—articles that read, day after day, as if written by Gibbon. But he too often allowed himself to descend from these fine flights of legitimate denunciation to the lowest levels of infantile and fatuous personal insults, as in holding up an opponent to public ridicule for his Pauline—or Horatian—stature, or his Brahean—or Socratican—nose, unthinkable lapses in literacy in a man of Maclean’s supreme manliness of both body and mind. Only his brother Press-men, who knew the temptations of their calling, could forgive him. Other notable journalists of Western India whose names ought to be embalmed in Mr. Ratcliffe’s paper are those of George Craig, a retired private—or corporal—of the British Army, editor of the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*; and the Rev. George Bowen, an editor of the *Bombay Guardian*; both of whom, in their antithetical spheres of duty, well served the public interests of Bombay.

Of all these that I have named, Robert Knight was the first to light the fiery cross of incendiary journalism throughout the Presidency of Bombay, and particularly in the Southern Mahratta Country and the South Concan; where among the Hindu landholders he had at that date an unprecedented weight and vogue, and to whom he was as an incarnate god. But it is at Maclean’s door that the blame—or the fame—must be laid of having aggravated in the vernacular journalists of Western India the natural tendency to opprobrious personalities, inherent in all men of hysterical temperament, to the pitch of Satanic “possession.” The people of India, as was at once observed by Megasthenese in their arts, are strikingly imitative in all their intellectual, and moral, and religious, as well as artistic dilections, and equally assimilative; and when once the vivacious Mahrattas of the Deccan had learned how venomously Dr. Buist might dare to vilify Sir Charles Napier, and how disgracefully Mr. James Maclean might disparage Sir Bartle Frere, it was inevitable that in imitating them they should out-Herod Herod; and to condemn them for so doing is like Satan condemning sin. In brief, whatever of “sin,” in the way of political treason and



personal treachery, and rancorous literary latration to downright rabies, may vitiate the titles and impair the utility of the current issues of the Vernacular Press of India, it sprung, fully equipped with every implement of public and private envy, hatred and malevolence from the head of the wilful and turbulent English "Interlopers" of the eighteenth century in India, the tradition of whose implacable opposition to the "monopoly" of the Honourable East India Company continued to inflame the antipathy of the unofficial to the official English in India for nearly a generation after the sequestration—as a consequence of "the Mutiny of 1857"—of the possessions of the Company in India and in Leadenhall Street, to the Imperial Crown (so established from the date of Henry VIII.) of England. A latent cause of the Mutiny of 1857 lay in this secular enmity cherished by the Newspaper Press of the independent English in India toward the Honourable East India Company; and now that the tradition of it is dying out, the free and independent English Press of the country is everywhere seen to be, in every essential point of policy and administration, at one with the responsible Government of India; and, again, it will be found, with the passing of the years, that the Vernacular Press of India will have inevitably fallen into line with the English Press of India, and by 1957 will be all written in English, and right loyally—a perfected "atonement" they both owe to the British-*Raj* in India! My only misgiving arises from the reckless way in which the Parliamentary Opposition in Westminster—alike Liberal and Conservative—persists in treating "Indian Questions" as a means for damaging the character of the Government of the day; thus reducing India to a mere pawn in our bewildering system of Party government, and imperilling her rapidly increasing material prosperity, and indefinitely procrastinating her political regeneration—the final goal of England's duty as the paramount power in India.

I cannot approve of any suppression of the independence of the native Indian Press short of incitement to crime and sedition and rebellion. We find within our own selves that the repression of resentment against individuals, momentarily objectionable to us, intensifies it; whereas giving way to it in certain blessed "curse-words and swears," however vulgar—*i.e.*, natural—at once assuages it. Even when an injury has been done us, and we turn instinctively to one of the comminatory Psalms of David, we find, when we have got half through it, that we have forgiven our worst enemy, and before we reach the end of it that we are laughing at our silly selves. So it is with a "bad Press," which is the blowing-off of steam before it gets superheated; and, between the Vernacular Press and the Government of India, it has over and over again acted as a veritable safety-valve. Its native Indian readers thoroughly understand its inflated philippics—all in the end to the greater glory of the British-*Raj*! It was the rabulate raging of the Liberals against him that made Disraeli; and it is the frenzied fury of the Conservatives that has made Mr. Lloyd George the great personage and greater personality he is to-day. A difference should be observed with the Anglo-Indian Press, the rancorous onslaughts of which, in times past, on the Government, were a blackening by ourselves of our own faces, and were taken therefore by its native Indian readers as gospel truth—always with

disagreeable, and occasionally with disastrous, results. Of the disagreeable consequences, the two most profitable "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," are the instances of the quarrel of the native Indian Press with Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon of Kedleston. They both went out to India determined to give the fullest effect to the supererogatory advices injudiciously pressed on them to see well to it that the natives of India suffered no injustice at the hands of the English officials of the Government and other English people in India. But directly the Anglo-Indian Press turned on Lord Lytton in "the Fuller case," the native Indian Press followed suit, and with enduring vengeance. A similar fate befell Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Never had the people of India sounder, stauncher friends than in both these great and brilliant statesmen; but the truth is they both spoke too much, and in defiance of the cardinal rule of public life for every official in India, native or European: "Work hard, and hold your confounded tongue!" It is marvellous what seemingly trifling things will make or mar a man—the greatest man's reputation—in India. The phrase "John-Company" is a corruption of the Indian phrase *Kumpani-Jahan*—that is, "World(-wide) Company," as applied by the people of India to the extinct East India Company, whose righteous rule so impressed them that the word came at last to be used by them as a synonym for *huk, nisaf, rasti*—i.e., "justice." But what really from the first won their confidence in, and reverence for the Honourable East India Company, was the fact recorded in my official "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," p. 222 [see also Sir Henry Yule's glorious "Glossary," edited by Mr. William Crooke (John Murray, 1913)], that: "The earliest coins minted by the English in India were of copper, stamped with the figure of an irradiated *lingam* [cf. Deus "Rediculus" of Pliny, x. 43 (60), and "Fascinus," xxviii. 4 (7), and "Mutunus" or "Tutanus," and "Priapus"] the Phallic 'Roi-Soleil'—the worship of all India—India of the Hindus. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff tells us the story, in one of his autobiographical volumes, of an Indian gardener, who, on being disturbed in his work by a tiger, at once faced it, and, striking his *lati* into the ground, shouted out to the flaming beast (I quote from memory): This is "*Kumpani Jahan*! Advance another step at your peril!" Whereon the poor, shamefaced creature slunk back and away into its native jungle, *Clepsydrum exhausti*!

MR. WOOLACOTT said they were all very grateful to Mr. Ratcliffe for his highly interesting paper. He would confine what he had to say to the latter portion of Mr. Ratcliffe's speech, where he suggested, in regard to the Press in India, that we were sitting on the safety-valve. He had been in India before the Press Act, and since the Press Act was passed, and when he read the leading Bengali papers, which were conducted with considerable ability, and was then told the British rulers of India were sitting on the safety-valve, he would like to know what, in the name of Heaven, those papers wanted to say; because for vigorous criticism of the Government and of the acts of officials there was no lack. He was not in favour of any restriction of the liberty of the Press; as a journalist, and a past-President of the Institute of Journalists, his predilections were all in the

opposite direction. But what we had to face in India was the license of the Press, and it was for the purpose of dealing with this evil that the Press Act was passed. We had to deal not only with journals which criticised administrative Acts in a vigorous manner—sometimes rightly so—but they had to cope with prints which would be a disgrace to any nation. Time after time papers had been placed on his desk containing incitements to the most dastardly crime against Europeans—non-officials as well as officials. Mr. Ratcliffe reminded him very much of an address delivered at one of the Bengal Provincial Congresses, where a gentleman said it was a terrible thing that Bengal was now gagged and bound, and then proceeded to deliver a speech which would have filled nine columns of the *Times* of violent criticism of British administration, and particularly of the police. The question under discussion was a very great and serious question, but let them face the facts. If he had had his papers at hand he could have read extracts from journals published in Calcutta, which would at once have demolished the lecturer's case that there was any gagging of opinion in Bengal. He said emphatically that the leading papers in Bengal published fearlessly criticism of the most vehement character, and, in his opinion, sometimes passed beyond the bounds of fair criticism. They would all remember the virulent attacks on Mr. Weston in the Midnapur case. If opinion had been gagged, those articles would have been quite impossible. While so-called political cases were being heard in the High Court, moreover, running comments on the proceedings appeared in Bengali papers of a character which would never have been tolerated in this country. Rhetoric was excellent, but facts were better, and he ventured to say that, if he had at hand files of leading Indian papers, he could furnish a complete answer to the charge that, under British administration, opinion was stifled in India.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said that no doubt the object of the Press Act was to stop secret conspiracies and outrages which had resulted from those conspiracies. Speaking for himself, it seemed that in that respect the Press Act, as at present administered, was only doing harm. He believed that the only way of combating the dangerous tendency to such outrages was by producing a better feeling amongst the people, and amongst the younger generation especially. He believed there was no better prescription than that which Lord Morley gave, namely, to "rally the moderates," that in order to produce an atmosphere friendly to good order they should put their confidence in the older and more thoughtful men, who looked to the real future of India, and who themselves considered those unfortunate outrages as the greatest impediment to their aspirations for the future. (Hear, hear.)

He believed that the way to deal with it was to encourage the older men to exercise their influence over the younger generation—the restrictions of the Press Act having caused a break between them and the younger men. The particular defect of the Act which struck one most was the failure of the provision which gave the High Court power to redress particular grievances. With regard to the question of principle, he was quite convinced that, if the younger men, instead of being discouraged

from taking an interest in public affairs, were encouraged to listen to the advice of the older men, then he thought they would begin to produce an atmosphere which would put an end to such things as secret conspiracies. (Hear, hear.)

MR. DAVID ALEC. WILSON said that the little he had to say was indirectly an answer to the challenge put forward a few minutes ago. He wished to refer to a case which was recently before the Courts, where Mr. Channing Arnold was prosecuted for libel, and in connection with which civil proceedings were still pending. What led Mr. Channing Arnold—a most loyal man—to publish the articles for which he was prosecuted was that he was assured on every hand, by English barristers as well as others, that the people in that district had been advised that the Courts would not do justice between a native woman and a European man. Mr. Arnold was filled with indignation, and he flung himself into the breach, and even if he did use strong rhetorical language it was because of honest indignation at injustice and his belief in our Courts. The popular *disbelief* in our Courts which stirred him was attributed by good judges to the recent policy which could only be described as the setting up of a new dogma of official infallibility. He did not believe in it. Did they?

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA said he wished to express his appreciation of the lecture. Apart from the historical survey, the part which appealed to him most was the concluding portion of the lecturer's observations with regard to the Press Act. This, as they would have seen, was an extremely controversial subject. Mr. Woolacott spoke of his first-hand knowledge, but as a journalist of some standing who had never been prosecuted or even warned, he (Mr. Sinha) thought he might speak with equal authority and also with first-hand knowledge. They were passing through very difficult times in India, but on the whole things had certainly improved, and he quite agreed with Mr. Ratcliffe that it was time now for the Press Act to be either repealed or, at any rate, amended, in the matter of giving an effective right of appeal to the High Court from the orders of the Executive. He desired to speak of the Chairman with the greatest respect, but because they were not in a position to take up the work of the Government, for the time being, it did not stand to reason that they should be prevented or debarred from criticizing the measures of the Government. The Government was bound to listen to their opinions, and to give effect to them so far as it might be practicable. The people of England had not yet realized the intensity of feeling which lay behind the Press Act in India which was growing stronger and stronger. He regretted the tone of the speech delivered by Mr. Woolacott which would tend to give the people of this country a very wrong impression of the Press in India. He had seen expressions in papers in England used with reference to His Majesty's Ministers the like of which had never been used in India. The reasons why the Indian people felt so strongly against the Press Act was that although it applied to all papers in theory, in practice its operation was confined to Indian papers alone. In conclusion he hoped that this meeting would do all it could to support the demands of the Indian people for the amendment of the Press Act.

Mr. SYUD HOSSAIN said he was in complete agreement with the previous speakers in regard to the general pleasure derived from the lecture. So far as the historical survey of the Indian Press was concerned there could be no two opinions as to the informative value of Mr. Ratcliffe's address. He would, however, have liked to have seen included a reference to one who had been justly called the "Prince of Indian Journalists"—viz., Dr. Sambhu C. Mookerjee, the editor of *Reis and Rayyet*, who combined character and capacity to an extent which would not be easily paralleled even in the English Press; his had been an example of extraordinary power over those who had come after him. They were all deeply interested in the thoughtful remarks offered by Mr. Ratcliffe in regard to the present position of the Press in India; some were even more interested in the remarks, which were of a distinctly misleading character, of Mr. Woolacott. It seemed to him the audience might go away, if left to itself, on the strength of his remarks with a false and even mischievous impression of the actual facts of the case. No responsible person, in India or this country, claimed a licence for the Indian Press—that was not a position taken up by anyone in authority. He believed the consensus of moderate opinion in India was all for the proper suppression by legal and constitutional methods of sedition and incitements to disaffection. It was because it had been sought to stifle legitimate and *bona fide* criticism that the native body of moderate opinion in India had levelled indignant protests against the Press Act; and it was no use Mr. Woolacott saying that because he could make up a selection of purple patches from Indian newspapers, comparable in rhetoric to his own speech, that spelt a justification for the throttling of the Press of India. The question was not one of stray incendiarism in disreputable organs, but the large principle involved in the right of public criticism of public affairs.

—MR. RATCLIFFE, in replying, said he had learned at the close of the lecture that he had transgressed the rules of the Association in adding to the printed paper an expression of his personal view on the policy of the Press Act. He was not aware of the rule, and perhaps the transgression was excused by the discussion which, in all probability, contained more useful points than it would otherwise have done. He had given it as his opinion that the repeal of the Press Act was, in the improved conditions of India, the course dictated alike by policy and justice. He could not disagree with the Chairman's statement that the subject was one of great practical difficulty, but he noted that Sir George Birdwood held to the view which he had expressed so long ago as 1877 in favour of a practically unrestricted Press. His one direct opponent in the discussion had been Mr. Woolacott, who, though he had pleaded for facts instead of rhetoric, had not, in his very effective speech, kept entirely to facts. Mr. Woolacott had said that when he was in Calcutta there frequently reached his table prints of a disgraceful character. That being so, it was evidence that the Act was ineffective for its special purpose. Legislation of this kind did not crush out the worst things, but it tended to obliterate the line that should be kept clear between independent criticism and violent writing. Again, it was said Indian journalists were not fettered. The articles daily appearing



in the Press of Bengal showed that they were permitted to criticize the Government and Government officials with extreme severity. There was no better answer to that contention than the one given by Macaulay in 1835. If the Press were in reality free, the Government should take the credit for it by allowing it to be called free, and not impose upon itself the odium of continuing an Act that was looked upon by educated India as repressive. Finally, Mr. Woolacott challenged debate upon the evidence provided by the files of the Indian papers. That was a fair challenge: but over against the articles which the Government allowed to appear should be put those which had brought down upon Indian editors the rigours of the Press Act, together with a statement of the circumstances attending, in each case, the application of the Act. The lecturer thought that, if this were done, it would prove that, as Sir William Wedderburn contended, the Act, as at present administered, was working to the detriment of good feeling between the Government and the Indian people.

DR. CLARK, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting paper, said that, on the whole, he had laid his case as a moderate man. All legislation was more or less tentative, and he felt little doubt that the Act would be modified. Of course, it was possible that public opinion in India might veer round from too much tolerance to perhaps the reverse. The current of opinion here in this country, however, was undoubtedly towards its modification, and that before very long, but he did not think Parliament would go to the length of repealing the Act altogether. (Hear, hear.)

The motion, being seconded by Dr. Pollen, was put to the meeting and carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.



## THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council have the honour to report on the working of the Association during the year 1913-14.

Since the beginning of the year seventy-three new Members have been elected. Of these thirty-six were Indians and thirty-seven Europeans. H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Rai Bahadur Ragho Prasad Narain Singh, and Lord Pentland have become life Members, and two lady Members have joined the Association—viz., Mrs. Flora Sassoon and Miss Wade. It is to be hoped that more ladies interested in India will apply for membership.

The Committee appointed, at the suggestion of Sir Lesley Probyn and Sir Robert Fulton, to consider methods whereby the scope and influence of the Association could be enlarged, came to the conclusion that it was not desirable to change the name of the Association; but advised that the Programme for Lectures of each year should, as far as possible, be drawn up and settled by Council at the beginning of each session; that increased efforts should be made to induce distinguished Administrators and public men connected with India to take part in the proceedings; that Lecturers should be paid; and that enlarged accommodation should be provided both for the Meetings and for the Teas.

These proposals, with certain modifications, were accepted by the Council, and the Literary Committee were authorized to offer payment to Lecturers up to a certain

limit to cover all expenses connected with the preparation of their papers.

A list of Lecturers for the current year has, accordingly, been prepared, and all papers offered or promised are now set forth on the reverse of the invitation cards.

The course of events with regard to the treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa has been followed with close attention by the Association, and a paper was drawn up by Sir Roland Wilson entitled "The Case of India *v.* South Africa from the Point of View of the British Elector" which was accepted by the Literary Committee and approved in Council. But in view of the appointment of the South African Commission, it was deemed advisable in the interests of the people of India that the reading of this paper should be postponed, and the Council sincerely trust that, in accordance with representations which have previously been made from many quarters, and in which this Association has also taken part, this vexed question may now be settled in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

The most important work performed during the year under report was the publication in book-form of the "Truths about India," compiled by Mr. J. B. Pennington under the authority of the Association. The volume, with a vigorous Foreword by Lord Ampthill, has been well received by the Public and the Press, and has already reached a fourth issue.

The Association has had to deplore the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, the Earl of Minto, and the Council tendered to the Countess of Minto an expression of their sincere sympathy in her heavy bereavement and deep sorrow.

The Hon. Secretary has received the following reply :

*"April 18.*

"DEAR SIR,

"Will you be good enough to convey to the Members of the Council of the East India Association my heart-

felt thanks for their kind resolution of sympathy with me in my grievous loss. I am deeply touched by their kind appreciation of my dear husband's services to the Empire. While Viceroy of India it was his earnest endeavour loyally to promote the interests of her Princes and people, and I am glad that his work is so universally recognized.

"My sorrow is indeed overwhelming, but I am very grateful for the kind expression of condolence received from the Members of the Association, and for their thought of me in my affliction.

"Believe me, yours truly,

"(Signed) M. MINTO."

The papers read during the year were all of a very high order, and elicited interesting discussions. The meetings were well attended, and it was specially gratifying to the Council to have the pleasure of welcoming Lord Roberts when he took the chair at the reading of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on "The Battle of the Gauges in India."

The Proceedings of the Association still continue to be published in the *Asiatic Review* (formerly the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*), now edited by Mr. F. J. P. Richter (a nephew of the late Dr. Leitner, who was associated with the late Sir Lepel Griffin in the inception of the *Review*). The arrangement now made by the proprietor, Mr. Leitner, is that the *Asiatic Review* shall be published every six weeks, and that Members of the Association shall receive eight copies of the *Review* a year instead of four as formerly. The Manager has agreed to supply the Association with 400 copies of each issue of the *Review* and also of the *Journal*, 500 invitation cards, 40 posters and 35 advance copies of each Lecture, for a fixed yearly payment.

As will be seen from the Statement of Accounts, the income of the Association from subscriptions continues steadily to increase. Indeed, but for the extra expenditure

involved in the publication of the "Truths about India" in book-form, the income for the year would have covered the expenditure. The extra expenditure on this valuable work during the year amounted to £59 os. 6d. From this it will be seen that, to ensure and maintain financial stability, it is very necessary to keep a substantial balance in hand to meet unforeseen, as well as current expenditure. Only a large increase in Membership could justify any extension of the expenditure on the legitimate objects and activities of the Association, but it is hoped that this increase will in time be secured, and that the Association will thus be enabled to extend its influence for the good of the people of India generally.

The following papers were read during the year :

*May 22, 1913.*—Wilmot Corfield, Esq. (late Hon. Treasurer, Calcutta Historical Society), "Calcutta : The Premier City." Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

*June 23, 1913.*—Meherban Narayanrao Babasahib, Chief of Ichalkaranji, "What has Britain done for India?" The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*July 21, 1913.*—F. O. Oertel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. (Superintending Engineer, Allahabad), "Indian Architecture and its Suitability for Modern Requirements." Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., in the chair.

*October 27, 1913.*—M. de P. Webb, Esq., C.I.E. (late Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce), "Money Power for India." Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*November 18, 1913.*—James Drummond Anderson, Esq., I.C.S., retired, "The Vernaculars in Indian Universities." Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

*December 15, 1913.*—Moreton Frewen, Esq., "The Recent Currency Experiments of the Indian Govern-

ment." The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., in the chair.

*February* 23, 1914.—Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, C.I.E., "Art in Rajputana, with Special Relation to Jaipur," illustrated with lantern views. Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

*March* 10, 1914.—Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., "The Early Exploitation of India and the Indian Borderlands." General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., in the chair.

*April* 6, 1914.—Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., "The Andaman Penal System." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*April* 20, 1914.—Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., "The Battle of the Gauges in India." Field-Marshal the Right Hon. the Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., in the chair.

The following Pamphlets have been issued during the year :

"An Independent Testimony," by Harold Begbie, Esq.

"Some Plain Facts about the Indian Trade Report for 1912-13."

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

1. Khan Saheb Khwajah Mohammud Azam.
2. A. S. M. Anik, Esq.
3. Mohamed Ali, Esq.
4. Hubert Shorrock Ashton, Esq.
5. The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
6. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali.
7. Baij Nath Badhwar, Esq.
8. Saiyid Husain Bilgrami, Esq., C.S.I.
9. The Hon. Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Balrampur.

10. Herbert Batty, Esq.
11. Raja Ratan Sen Singh, Raja of Bansi.
12. H. Kelway-Bamber, Esq., M.V.O.
13. The Hon. Mr. Mahadev Bhaskar Chaubal, C.S.I.
14. Raja Manmathanath Chowdhury.
15. John Coldstream, Esq.
16. Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, K.C.S.I.
17. Kuvarji Khandubhai Desai, Esq.
18. Alfred Dickinson, Esq.
19. Jivanji Shapoorji Dhunjibhoy, Esq.
20. The Rev. Dr. Downie, D.D.
21. Walter Hill Dawson, Esq.
22. Radhamohono Rajendra Debo, Esq.
23. Mangaldas Vithaldas Desai, Esq.
24. Jamsetji Kavasji Dubash, Esq.
25. N. B. Dalal, Esq.
26. Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
27. The Hon. Mr. Tounley Richard Filgate, C.I.E.
28. Moreton Frewen, Esq.
29. General Sir Alfred Gaselee, G.C.B., G.C.I.E.
30. Sander Gutmann, Esq.
31. Raja Kisor Lal Goswami, M.A., B.L.
32. The Hon. Mr. S. Q. Huda.
33. The Hon. Mr. John Mitchell Holms, C.S.I.
34. E. B. Havell, Esq.
35. The Hon. Mr. Maung Hfay.
36. Norman Leslie Hallward, Esq.
37. Duncan Irvine, Esq.
38. Khursedji Sorabjee Jassawalla, Esq.
39. H. H. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,  
G.C.V.O., Maharaja of Kolhapur.
40. Mohamed Kassimoff, Esq.
41. The Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, F.R.G.S.
42. Mohammed Yamin Khan, Esq.
43. Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
44. Henry Staveley Lawrence, Esq.
45. F. D. Mulla, Esq.



46. Reginald Murray, Esq.
47. James McDonald, Esq.
48. Hugh Murray, Esq., C.I.E.
49. Hugh McPherson, Esq.
50. Mark B. F. Major, Esq.
51. The Hon. Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Khan, K.C.I.E.,  
Raja of Muhummudabad.
52. Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C.S.I.
53. D. B. Lal Nanda, Esq.
54. John C. Nicholson, Esq.
55. Narendra Nath, Esq.
56. Lachmi Narayan, Esq., M.R.A.S.
57. Hebbalalu Velpanur Nanjundayya, Esq., C.I.E.
58. George Michael Ryan, Esq.
59. Sir Frederick Alexander Robertson.
60. Charles Arthur Silberrad, Esq.
61. Thomas Stoker, Esq., C.S.I.
62. John Sanders Slater, Esq.
63. Mrs. Flora Sassoon.
64. Alexander Montagu Stowe, Esq.
65. Nirmul Chunder Sen, Esq.
66. Rādhācharan Sāh, Esq.
67. Rao Bahadur Raghunath Vyankaji Sabnis, C.I.E.
68. Rai Bahadur Ragho Prasad Narain Singh.
69. George Frederick Sheppard, Esq., J.P.
70. Rup Kishore Tandam, Esq., M.B. and C.M.  
(Edin.).
71. Frederick George Wigley, Esq., C.I.E.
72. David Alec Wilson, Esq.
73. Miss L. E. Wade.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E.

P. D. Bhiwandiwalla, Esq.

The Hon. Meherban Sardar Rao Bahadur Motilal  
Chunilal.

Lindsay Millais Jopling, Esq.  
T. W. Mansukhain, Esq.  
A. B. Miller, Esq.  
Charles Nissim, Esq.  
Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Leslie Porter, K.C.S.I.  
Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.  
B. Lewis Rice, Esq., C.I.E.  
Sri Ram, Esq.  
Colonel A. U. S. Wingate.  
Major Clive Wigram, C.S.I., M.V.O.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Sir Apcar Alexander Apcar, K.C.S.I.  
William Henderson Buchan, Esq.  
R. E. Forrest, Esq.  
S. V. Morgan, Esq.  
Charles William McMinn, Esq.  
The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
Om Prakash, Esq.  
Lala Ganga Ram, Esq.  
Ardeshir Jamsedjee Umrigar, Esq.  
George Digby Wybrow, Esq.  
Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A.

The total increase of Members during the year (after deducting deaths and resignations) amounted to forty-eight.

Sir J. D. Rees has, through press of work, found himself obliged to resign Membership of Council; and the following Members retire by rotation:

W. Coldstream, Esq.  
Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D.  
Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £303 6s. 4d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £339 14s. 11d. last year.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Forty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 17, 1914, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., President, being in the chair. The following gentlemen were present: Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Ham-mick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.S.I., Sir Ralph Benson, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Report, which I suppose we may take as read. From the Report you will see that the Committee have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to rebaptize the Association, therefore we keep our old name. Then they have advised that the programme for lectures of each year should be settled by the Council at the beginning of each session, so that we shall know beforehand the subjects to which our attention will be called at the meetings; and they also recommend that increased efforts be made to introduce distinguished administrators and public men connected with India to take part in the proceedings.

I think I may say that we have been very successful in our lectures, and the meetings have also been very well attended. In future the lecturers who desire it are to be paid their expenses, and enlarged accommodation is to be provided for the meetings and for the teas. A list of lecturers for the current year has been prepared, and all papers promised are now set forth on the reverse of the invitation cards.

Of course, the most important work which has been performed during the year was the publication of "Truths about India," compiled by Mr. J. B. Pennington, and I am sure that I represent your unanimous feeling in offering to Mr. Pennington our congratulations and thanks for the great care he has bestowed on the work.

The next reference in the Report is one to which I wish to allude—namely, the death of the Earl of Minto. He was a personal friend of mine, and he was a neighbour of mine in Scotland, and I am sure that no one

could become acquainted with Lord Minto without realizing the peculiar charm of his character. He was in every sense of the word a noble Scot, and he had all the distinguishing traits of the Scot. He was absolutely simple; he discharged his responsible duties with the utmost self-sacrifice. He was extraordinarily modest, and when he came back I found him just the same man as when he went out. He was a real friend of India, both of Europeans and of Indians of the whole community, and his sole object was the prosperity of India. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that his Viceroyalty was one of extraordinary interest; it was during his Viceroyalty that various reforms were first of all introduced and afterwards carried out, and the success of those reforms was certainly in no slight degree due to his tact in carrying them out. I am sure, in your name to-day, I may pay a respectful tribute to his memory. (Hear, hear.)

You will have noticed in the Report the arrangements with the *Asiatic Review*, and last, but not least, the very satisfactory nature of the statement of accounts. No doubt the income of the Association is always below what it should be, but at the same time we have now got to a point where our income and our expenditure nearly balance, and you will allow me to pay a tribute of gratitude for this result to our indefatigable Secretary, Dr. Pollen (Hear, hear), who, since he has been associated with the Association, has done so much to increase its usefulness and its efficiency.

Now, there are two things to which on this occasion I may call your attention. Probably most of you have visited that extraordinarily interesting collection in the British Museum of Sir Aurel Stein's, which has at last now been properly housed. As you are aware, when the King recently opened the new building, both the King and the Queen paid special attention to these exhibits, which had for so long been stowed away in the cellars of the British Museum, and to those who have seen the admirable way in which the collection of the German expedition in Central Asia is arranged in the Museum at Berlin it was a most humiliating feeling that when German scholars came here and inquired to see this collection of Dr. Stein's it was almost impossible to show it to them.

That collection is, in its entirety, exhibited at the British Museum, but there is an arrangement between the Government of India and the British Museum that part of it ought to go back to Indian museums, as the Indian Government contributed to the expenses of the exploration, and they very naturally claim part of the spoils. I need not point out to you how very unfortunate it would be to split up the collection. Students from all parts of Europe come here to see this collection, and compare it with the Berlin collection, and the splitting up of that collection would be most unfortunate from the point of view of archaeological study. It is quite clear that the scholars and archaeologists who come here cannot all go to India in order to study the complete collection, and therefore we have approached the India Office, pointing out the circumstances, fully admitting the claims of the Government of India, but asking them carefully to inquire into the possibilities of this collection remaining intact, because it is obvious that archaeologists will come here in greater numbers than would go to India to see the collection there. Then there is also the risk that certain items in

the collection might in transit be damaged, and the further risk, as we know, that if they are placed in a museum in India in a damp climate, some of the exhibits which have been so mercifully preserved in Central Asia, owing to the great dryness of the climate, might be damaged. They were all covered with sand, and it is almost a wonder that during all those centuries they have been preserved, and that we should have found them absolutely intact, and it would be deplorable if by exhibiting them in a climate which is not suitable they should be damaged. I hope you agree with what we have done in regard to this matter, which I admit is, to a certain extent, complicated by what I fully admit are the legitimate claims of the Government of India.

Now, another subject, which is of a most gratifying character, is that we may now look forward to the establishment of the School for Oriental Studies. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that the London Institution has been acquired, and I may say the Government have been generous in that direction. We had a great meeting at the Mansion House, and all that is now wanted is more funds to endow that School properly, and then the reproach will be removed from us—which was a very serious reproach—that we had not in the Metropolis of the Empire an Oriental School such as we undoubtedly ought to have, to train scholars, archæologists, and epigraphists. In the City I am happy to say there has been a response to our request; the City is quite convinced of the importance for our pioneers in the East to go out equipped with a certain amount of knowledge of the East. The missionary societies are also fully alive to the importance of missionaries who are sent out being better equipped than they have been hitherto. I think, therefore, that the prospects with regard to this Indian School are certainly favourable, and I hope when we next meet that the School will be in full swing at the London Institution, which at present is being arranged to receive the staff and students.

I believe that is all I have to say on the subject of our Report. I think that we can look back to the work of the past session with satisfaction; as I have said, the lectures are well attended and always interesting; and fortunately we are able to steer clear of all partisanship and party spirit, our only object being the prosperity and well-being of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR LESLEY PROBYN said he had great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. He agreed they owed a debt of gratitude to Dr. Pollen for the excellent work he had done, and they ought to congratulate themselves on the progress that had been made by the Association.

SIR JAMES WILSON said that with reference to Sir Aurel Stein's collection, which had been mentioned by the Chairman, he would like to say that he was in India at the time arrangements were being made for Dr. Stein's journey, and he well remembered the difficulty they had in persuading the Government of India to allow Dr. Stein to go and to pay part of his expenses; and it was only on the understanding that India would secure a portion of the finds that it was thought just to spend Indian revenues on exploration in Central Asia. It was agreed by all that the claims of India to a share were legitimate, and he hoped the Government of India would



not too readily accept the suggestion of the Association and give up to the British Museum India's share of those very valuable records. He thought they would easily find in India a climate even more suitable for their preservation than the climate of London. He agreed it was in some ways more convenient to have them housed in one place, but there were other claims to be taken into account as well, and he hoped the other side of the question would be well considered before any decision was come to.

Dr. Pollen said he thought it was in the interests of the people of India that the Association were working to preserve the collection for their edification.

Having been moved and seconded, on being put to the meeting, the adoption of the Report was carried unanimously.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said that, before proposing the re-election of their President, he would like to associate himself entirely with his lordship's remarks about the late Lord Minto. It was his good fortune during the last years of his service in India to be closely associated with Lord Minto, and everything that Lord Reay had said appealed very strongly to him. Lord Minto was absolutely natural and unaffected; he had the power of inspiring regard—he might almost say affection—in those who worked with him.

With regard to Dr. Aurel's Stein's collection, he had had occasion the other day to go to the British Museum to see Dr. Ross, who had been appointed to look after and arrange this collection—subject finally, of course, to the wishes of the Secretary of State—and all who knew Dr. Ross would admit that he had the highest qualifications for the purpose.

Before concluding, he wished to propose the re-election of Lord Reay as President. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He had been good enough to aid the Association for a considerable period, and they were greatly indebted to him for the kindness with which he had accepted the post of President year after year, and also for the very wise advice and assistance he had given to them from time to time. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM, in seconding the proposal, said that when they looked back and remembered the great services his lordship had rendered to India as Governor of Bombay, and how he still gave his valuable time and strength to work for India, he felt sure they could not select a Chairman who would be more acceptable. He had given them all an example of strenuous work, which stimulated and encouraged them. That they should have as their Chairman one who was recognized as such a great authority on Indian affairs, political and educational, made them feel proud that they had as President one who adorned that position, and who carried great weight with the public in the work they endeavoured to carry on.

The proposal, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the cordial way in which you have accepted the resolution, and for the way in which it has been proposed and seconded. I admit that I have thought it would be a great advantage to have as President of this Association someone younger, and with more recent experience of India—my ex-

perience is now getting rather out of date; but as you are kind enough to overlook it, it is not for me to press the point, and I need not say that I take a great interest in the development of our Association.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Sir Arundel Arundel, H.H. the Maharajah of Jhind was unanimously elected as Vice-President.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL proposed that the following Members of Council, who retired by rotation, be re-elected: Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., and Mr. W. Coldstream. This was seconded by Mr. Dunn, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Mr. Pennington, Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.I.E., was unanimously elected as a new Member of Council.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that there were other vacancies if anyone present wished to propose someone else. The Council had the right to co-opt members if the necessity arose.

The HON. SECRETARY said that members had a right to nominate Members of Council. The Council did not arrogate to itself the exclusive right to appoint or co-opt members; it was open to any member of the Association at a General Meeting to propose Members of the Council.

A vote of thanks to Lord Reay, proposed by Dr. Pollen and seconded by Mr. Coldstream, was carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.

## THE OTTOMAN ASSOCIATION

(44A, DOVER STREET, W.)

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### FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

(JULY, 1914)

THE Association was founded on January 21, 1914, at a meeting held at 22, Albemarle Street, at which Lord Lamington took the chair. Your Executive are pleased to be able to state that the membership now totals 110, and express the hope that this number will steadily increase.

In support of the main objects of the Association, two memorials have been presented to the Foreign Office, a meeting in the City of London has taken place, questions have been asked in Parliament on behalf of the Association, and letters have appeared in the Press, written by individual members, to correct the misleading, exaggerated, or false information concerning Turkish action, which from time to time has been put into circulation. At the time the Powers were engaged in arriving at a decision as to the islands of the Ægean, which question had been referred to them by Turkey and Greece, your Executive, in a memorial to Sir Edward Grey, defined the arguments for the restoration of Chios and Mytilene to Turkey, and regretted the refusal of the Foreign Office to meet the Turkish Government's request for British Administrators for the East Anatolian Vilayets.

The Foreign Secretary made reply as follows :

SIR,—

I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of the 28th ultimo, and to inform you that he has had under his consideration the memorial of the Ottoman Association therein enclosed. I am to state that he is in full accord with their desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by your Association have been duly weighed by His Majesty's Government in the efforts they are making, in conjunction with other Powers, to secure a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the questions still outstanding in the Near East.

I am, etc.,

EYRE A. CROWE.

Shortly afterwards, on February 11, an important meeting under the auspices of our Association was held in the Cannon Street Hotel, at which the following resolutions were carried unanimously, Sir Thomas Barclay in the chair, and a large number of City gentlemen, besides members, being present :

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the continued interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire acts as a dangerous and disturbing factor in the financial and commercial markets of the world, while it must inevitably, as in the case of the Balkan War, prove detrimental to the permanence of international peace, so vital to the interests of the City of London and of the other commercial cities of the world.

This was proposed by Sir Thomas Barclay, seconded by Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., M.P., and supported by Messrs. Tristram Harper, R. J. Barrett (Editor-Director of the *Financier* and *Bullionist*), and Marmaduke Pickthall. Mr. Harold Cox moved, the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P.,

seconded, and Professor E. G. Browne supported, a second resolution :

That this meeting regrets that the recent policy of Great Britain has the appearance of having been persistently directed against the Turkish Empire.

The success of this meeting was largely due to the energy and generosity of Mr. Louis Wills.

During an evening party for members and their friends, on April 24, at the Bath Club, by invitation of Mr. Bennett, Sir Thomas Barclay gave a short address.

A second memorial was presented to the Foreign Secretary on June 24, exposing the provocative action of the Greeks in Macedonia, which forced vast numbers of Moslems to emigrate in destitution to Turkey, with the result that some of these "muhadjirs," incensed at previous ill-treatment, commenced to retaliate upon certain Greek villages in the Smyrna Vilayet, evicting the inhabitants, and causing a panic among the Greeks of the coast. These events found echo in some exaggerated and misleading statements, from Greek sources, in the English Press, and the serious situation was aggravated by the warlike and threatening demeanour of the Government of M. Venizelos. Our memorial went on to advocate the appointment of an International Commission to organize the migration between Macedonia and Asia Minor, and to adjudge compensation to the refugees in either country. The signatories to this memorial, with one exception, are members of this Association. In acknowledgment, Sir Edward Grey caused the subjoined reply to be returned to Lord Lamington, who headed the memorialists :

FOREIGN OFFICE,  
June 27, 1914.

MY LORD,—

Sir E. Grey has given full consideration to the memorial, dated the 17th instant, and bearing the signature of your lordship and other gentlemen, in which you urge His Majesty's Government to use

their influence to avert the outbreak of hostilities between Greece and Turkey.

In reply, I am to assure you that His Majesty's Government are fully aware and mindful of the reasons adduced in your memorial which make the maintenance of peace especially desirable, and, as Sir E. Grey has had occasion to state in the House of Commons, His Majesty's Government and the Governments of other Powers have made, and are making, representations both at Athens and Constantinople which they sincerely hope may contribute to avoid a rupture.

As regards your proposal that His Majesty's Government should suggest to the Greek and Turkish Governments their acceptance of an International Commission to regulate the reciprocal emigration of their Christian and Moslem subjects, and the adjustment of losses thereby incurred, I am to state that Sir E. Grey considers that these objects should be obtainable by the Turco-Greek Commission already designed for the purpose, and, further, it is his experience that offers of mediation are seldom acceptable to Powers at variance unless they can be made at the desire of both of them. Should, however, both Greece and Turkey express a wish for such an International Commission, His Majesty's Government would not fail to give due consideration to the proposal.

Sir E. Grey has taken note of your view of the responsibility attaching for the present state of things, but he does not feel himself competent to apportion the blame, nor must he be understood to endorse the statements as to the special censure incurred, in your view, by the Greek Government. It should be remembered that the totals given of Turkish emigration are, in all probability, much exaggerated, and, moreover, large numbers of the Moslem refugees from Macedonia come from territories which are not administered by Greece



The last reports received by Sir E. Grey justify the hope that the two countries appreciate the disastrous results to both that would follow on hostilities, and are taking steps to insure peace by removing as far as possible the causes which have led to the present unfortunate state of tension.

I am, etc.,

EYRE A. CROWE.

At this time of tension the resolution of your Executive, which follows below, was forwarded on the 3rd instant to His Excellency Talaat Bey, on whom, as Minister of the Interior, had fallen the task of arresting the Greek flight, restoring order, and punishing the offenders. It seems largely owing to the prompt energies and wise counsel of this Minister that the situation is to-day easier.

The resolution sent to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior reads :

Que cette Association admire le modération dont fait preuve le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, et aime à croire que le dit Gouvernement en continuant à montrer de la patience, même en face d'une provocation, pourra maintenir cette paix tellement essentielle à la prospérité future de l'Empire de sa Majesté le Sultan.

To these sentiments the recipient adds his own :

SUBLIME PORTE,

*le 9 juillet, 1914.*

TRÈS CHER MONSIEUR,—

Je remercie le Comité Exécutif de l'Association Ottomane des sentiments fort louables qu'il a exprimés dans une de ses dernières réunions. Le travail constant du Gouvernement Ottoman consiste dans le relèvement progressif de la nation Ottomane, fortement éprouvée depuis fort longtemps. Pour tirer un résultat effectif de notre effort, il est certain que nous

avons besoin d'un long répit tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur: l'Ottoman Association peut être tranquille, ce n'est pas nous qui désirons rompre ce répit.

Agréez, etc.,

TALAAT.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

During the ensuing autumn and winter it is proposed to hold a series of meetings for members and their friends, at which addresses and lectures will be given. Your Executive have been in correspondence with various gentlemen with this end in view. Another form of activity has been suggested in the shape of debates at the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. It is hoped that the Association may receive later on an accession of membership by incorporating an association of similar aims to our own. Your Executive have in consideration the appointment of two sub-committees—the one to deal systematically with misrepresentations and allegations against Turks from Greek or other sources in the Press as they appear; the other to investigate the possibilities which lie before the Association of taking a more active part in furthering British trade with Turkey, and encouraging the investment of British capital in that country. In this connection generally it is thought that a public meeting in Manchester, where British trade interests in the Nearer East are so strongly represented, may be of some assistance, while the appointment of correspondents of the Association in the chief towns of Thrace and Asia Minor should result in a clearer perception of current events and the commercial opportunities which exist.

The Executive trust that the dinner will become an annual fixture. Hearing that His Excellency Djemal Pasha, Minister of Marine, had arrived in Paris, the Association sent him an invitation to be present on the 23rd instant. He declined with regret, owing to his immediate return to the East.

A collection of Press cuttings, with index, is being continued. *Le Jeune Turc* and the chief periodicals dealing with affairs of the Near East are placed on file at the office, which is open from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., except on Saturdays.

The accounts have been audited and found correct. They disclose a credit balance at the bank on June 30 of £21 6s. 3d., though outstanding accounts exceed by a few pounds the funds in hand on July 21. As against this position, subscriptions from thirty-seven members are in arrears. Expenses for clerical work have been heavy; nearly nine hundred envelopes have been addressed to be sent to individuals likely to join. Items under this head will be lighter in the future. Your committee gratefully acknowledge the timely generosity which by donations has added the round sum of £46 to the funds. In conclusion, the committee sincerely trust that members will do their utmost to interest their friends in the work and objects of the Association.

For the Executive,

E. N. BENNETT,

*Hon. Sec.*

## SUPPLEMENT

### REVIEWS AND NOTICES

1. The Colonies of the Netherlands. J. Macmillan Brown: *THE DUTCH EAST*; 221 pp., 78 plates. London: *Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.* Price 10s. 6d. net. Arthur S. Walcott: *JAVA AND HER NEIGHBOURS*; 344 pp., 78 plates, map, and index. London and New York: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Price 10s. 6d. net.

Whether copra, oil, or rubber is responsible for the sudden crop of books on Java we know not, but within a few weeks three at least, of which two are now before us, have sketched the Dutch Colonies from various standpoints. The first consists of articles written by a New Zealander for New Zealand journals, sketches in truth, but with a practised hand behind the pen, fearlessly putting forward theories and opinions at once new and refreshing, although in some cases the writer shows a bias towards Polynesian influence in the Malay culture not altogether convincing. Others have fallen in the same way through easy generalizations—e.g., Fenollosa in his appreciation of the origin of Japanese art. The articles, however, should have been subjected to a more drastic editing; iterations are somewhat too frequent, owing to the original publication of the various chapters as separate essays. There are many suggestive pages which could with advantage be developed at length, and comparison instituted with other countries; thus the butcher caste and the performances in Kawi or Kromo have their respective parallels in the Éta and the Nō dances of Japan. The native labour question and the demoralizing effect of cheap food—viz., sago, to be had without trouble—are treated with mastery in a convincing, straightforward language. To those busybodies whose life is spent in meddling with other people's business, and in particular to the supporters of the Plumage Bill, the chapter on birds of paradise should be an eye-opener, showing how Nature protects its offsprings without the help of square-toed legislation. The author, however, appears to be mistaken in his opinion respecting the pyramidal temples of Borobūdūr, Prambanam, etc. Surely he has overlooked the topes and stupas in his eagerness to bring in the Tahiti pyramids (pp. 6-18). Whether his allusions to the Yucatan ruins refer to the theory of Arnold and Frost that "America's first

architects were Buddhist immigrants from Java and Indo-China," propounded in 1908, can only be surmised, just as much as the "chronological argument" adduced by the author needs confirmation; but the use of a pyramid as a tomb or an altar, as a more permanent monument than the tumulus, is too general for us to think that the Tahiti monuments influenced the Hindu and Buddhist builders of India and Java.

The book is well worth reading from cover to cover; there is enough humour in the most serious pages, and its record of how stale meat in Europe led to the use of spices, their gathering and monopoly to rivalry and wars, to changing influences in Java and her sister islands, how finally the Dutch "hold the cow," and the Chinese-cum-Arab crowd of traders and pawnbrokers milk it, will prove as entertaining as a novel.

Mr. Walcott's "Java and Her Neighbours" is a travel-book, almost a guide-book, not so much concerned with the ethics or the philosophy of Malay life, but rich in historical information, without which the record of a three months' trip over some 4,000 miles might prove meagre. The author tells us that he was led to publish his impressions and notes owing to the paucity of modern literature relating to the islands of Sumatra, Ternate, the Moluccas, and the Celebes, and from a popular point of view his book tends to fill the gap, although Java is given the largest share of its pages. It agrees with Brown's book in denouncing the exactions of the Chinese traders and praising the Dutch administration, in condemning the half-caste "Christians and Protestants who seem to have the usual vices of native Christians—drunkenness, laziness, bumptiousness, like most natives who have been taught that all men are equal and brothers."

Generally speaking, the treatment of the subject is sympathetic throughout, and calculated to induce travel in the Malay Archipelago. An amusing suggestion is made that the name "Celebes" is derived from *Silabih*, "land up there," having been mistaken for the name of the island by some early navigator, just as legend has it that a stranded sailor who became teacher of English (!) in a Japanese port was immortalized as Mr. Damyuraiziu in the retentive memory of his pupils.

Due credit is given to the archæological work of Sir Stamford Raffles and of the Dutch Government in the unearthing and restoration of the Buddhist monuments of Borobūdūr, Mendūt, and Prambanam, to which an interesting chapter is devoted.

The illustrations in both works are numerous and good; a few cases of duplication occur inevitably. After perusing both, the most casual reader will realize how earnestly the Dutch have worked since the fall of Napoleon I. Unfortunately the system of administration, which delegates the collection of revenue and the responsibility for keeping law and order to ward-captains and petty chieftains, does not appear to prevent the Chinese and Arabs from exploiting the natives. It is greatly to be desired that ethnologists should study more closely the relations between the Dutch East and the neighbouring Indo-Chinese and Japanese cultures. Much has been done for the ethnology of Java by Dutch writers in the *Archiv für Ethnologie*, but still more remains to be done.

HENRI L. JOLY.

2. INTERPRETATIONS AND FORECASTS: A Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society. By Victor Branford, M.A., sometime Honorary Secretary of the Sociological Society. (London: Duckworth and Co., 1914.) Price 7s. 6d.

After reading this volume one is tempted to exclaim, in the words of Whitman: "This is no book: who touches this, touches a man!" That is to say, it is a book of the best sort, filled with the life, hope, and faith of a generous and penetrating mind. The problem, handled with striking ease, freshness, and reality, is the oldest and largest: How to make the world a better home for man, and man a better citizen of his world.

The book is largely made up, as the author tells us apologetically in the preface, of many papers and addresses delivered "to serve some momentary purpose in the propaganda of sociology." No apology is needed, for whatever lack of logical regularity there may be in a work of this kind, not written as an intellectual exercitation, is more than compensated by the human charm and spontaneity, resulting no doubt from its origin. It has indeed a unity beyond logic, a vocal appeal that argument by itself cannot compass, something of the essential power of prophecy.

The author lays out his thesis with a wealth of material, drawn partly from thinkers of all ages, and, far more, from his own observation, social intercourse, and travel, relieved by humour and deepened by insight. He starts by explaining and defining sociology as the study and doctrine of society in evolution, and shows it us, like Janus, with two faces, civics and eugenics: only the two faces ought to look towards, and not away from, each other. Neither, he urges, can throw any effective light on the problem by itself. The betterment of the city, as environment, the betterment of man as organism, can only be mirrored each in each. To this end there must be a rapprochement between all the elements of society capable of effecting these two improvements, which are really not two but one. The practical citizen must come into touch with the man of science and art, city and university must interpenetrate; there must be, once more, as in the Middle Ages, a natural circulation and interchange of ideas between all classes in the community. The author makes great play of Comte's division of society into "People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, and Emotionals," and holds up before us a constant vision, expressed in a favourite figure, of their "orchestration" into a harmonious whole.

This is not to be done by violent means, or socialistic short-cuts, but by following the lines of least resistance, and making use of every scrap of tradition and survival still operative amongst us. The way of art is the way of sociology also. Let us, therefore, gather up and turn to actual use in the improvement of our own social life the best thought and practice of the past—the civic and dramatic doctrine and art of the Greeks, typified by the worship of Athena and Dionysus; the vital organization of craft and industry in the guild-system, that expressed itself in Miracle, Morality, and Mystery plays, and flowered in the cathedrals of the Middle Ages; the glories of the Elizabethan drama, and the moral fervour of Milton in



"Comus"—the last clear flame before (with the decline of corporate life) the drama also declined. The author sees, in the present-day revival of pageants for religious, social, and intellectual purposes, a hope for the future that drama may yet again take its true place as the most vivid and universal stimulus to a finer communal life. The whole chapter on "The Sociologist at the Theatre" is so admirable and illuminating that every young dramatist should read it, and every young citizen also.

The keynote to the purpose of the book is the often-repeated phrase, "How can we incorporate the people into the whole of contemporary culture?" The gulf between cultured and uncultured must be bridged; the unhappy division between men of science, men of letters, and theologians, must be healed, so that they together, representing the "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals," may direct the power and money of the "Chiefs" towards this incorporation of all classes into the best thought and ideals of the age. The University must no longer hold aloof from the city, nor the city undervalue the University. Mr. Branford is full of hope here, also, and sees fruitful signs of promise in what has been, and is being, done in Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, and elsewhere in Great Britain, and even more in the younger universities of the United States, where there is a new life and purpose running through school and college.

True culture, however, is impossible without responsibility, and therefore the author throws out a parallel line of attack in the idea of the "Resorption of Government." The citizen must not only be brought in to the intellectual and emotional life of his day, but he must also be admitted to a real share in the government of his city and its neighbourhood. And this by no mere vote and speech, but by civic activity. Dante says that he determined to use every word in the Italian language in his great poem; more noble words more often, and others less often, but every word at least once; Mr. Branford sees our life as a poem, in which every man should have some share. All available knowledge of the region material and humane, is to be brought together by the sociological surveyor, and made public, and an interest thus evoked in town-planning in its widest sense. Every citizen must be made to feel that everything in his world is a concern of his, and hers—education, industry, art, religion.

Anyone who reads this book once will read it again. Contrary to the suggestion of the title, it is the very opposite of a specialist treatise. It is comprehensive without being vague, scientific without being dry, vigorous without being partisan. Above all, it maintains an air throughout of hope and faith, and is illumined by constant flashes of humour and poetry. Nothing is more striking than the bold way in which the author, by outlook and inlook, unites the visible and invisible elements of life. To speak in a mystical figure, the city is regarded by him as a Divine flower to be grown on earth, when we, the gardeners, allow it. In more ordinary metaphor, art, poetry, music, are indeed stones in his theory of town-planning, but religion is "the headstone in the corner."

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3. VOCABULAIRE FRANÇAIS - CHINOIS DES SCIENCES. By Charles Taranzano, S.J. (Paris: *Guilmoto*; London: *Morice*.)

The introduction of European sciences in the East has necessitated the creation of new words in Japanese and in Chinese to express new ideas. The Japanese have probably been the most prolific creators in that respect, taking Chinese characters and forming therewith words which are barbarous in Japanese, and the lists of which in the existing dictionaries are unfortunately incomplete. The R.P. Taranzano, S.J., has sought in Chinese textbooks written since the Japanese adoption of Western ways the sinified forms as well as the original Japanese expression. His work of over 450 pages, with an English key and some plates, will prove of use to the students of Japanese as well as to those for whose use it has been primarily written.—J.

4. THE GOLDEN BOUGH (Part IV.): ADONIS, ATTIS, OSIRIS. By Professor James George Frazer (now Sir). Two vols. (*Macmillan*.) Price 21s. net.

This part of the work, now enlarged to over 630 pages (450 pages in the second edition of 1907) has been chiefly enlarged in the section dealing with Osiris. Its preface is a remarkably frank avowal of the difficulties which beset the inquirer in questions of ancient and comparative mythology, with a note of disappointment at the impossibility to reach finality in such matters. But this pessimistic view need not deter anyone from reading from cover to cover this revised edition, and, although cutting open the sheets of a learned work is a distracting, irritating business, the hours spent among those pages will be well repaid by the wealth of suggestion they contain. A general index to the "Golden Bough" is promised, the publication of which will make still more evident the mass of encyclopædic learning contained in its eleven volumes.—H. L. J.

5. ATHENS AND ITS MONUMENTS. By C. H. Weller.

Here we welcome another volume added to that most useful series, the Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities, issued by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. The student knows what good friends he has in these weighty but unpretentious red octavos, well illustrated and rich in precise information. Mr. Weller's book is a valuable addition to the series. Like that of his great Pickwickian namesake, his knowledge of the town he deals with is "extensive and peculiar." His style is brief and clear, but in passing I should like to protest against such solecisms as "donated," "choicest," "made over into a mosque." There is no hiding of doubtful points under verbiage; nothing careless or slipshod.

The author states that the general plan of his book was suggested by Miss Harrison's "Mythology and Monuments," which is now out of print. There is, however, little real resemblance between the two books. Miss Harrison frankly placed the mythological interest first, in contents as in title; Mr. Weller almost omits the mythology, and gives a precise description of each building, followed by a brief sketch of its history. He does not pretend to trace their vicissitudes beyond Roman days—no doubt a

wise limitation. Owing to skilful condensation he has been able to gather into comparatively small compass results for which the reader would previously have had to hunt through scattered numbers of archaeological journals in five or six languages, as well as through an extensive crop of recent literature in the English language: Gardner's "Ancient Athens," D'Ooge's "Acropolis of Athens," and Sir James Frazer's exhaustive commentary on "Pausanias." Perhaps this condensation and brevity have been carried rather too far. Mr. Weller says that he has written for the general reader, yet I doubt whether even the excellent plans and illustrations would lure the general reader far in this compendium of minute and sometimes technical detail. On the other hand, if the author had acknowledged that his book would be chiefly read by students and serious travellers, he would not have omitted the footnote references to his authorities, and we should not constantly be pulled up by such disappointing generalities as "the majority of scholars are in substantial agreement that," or "on the whole the balance of evidence is in favour of." It is not by sacrifice of cargo that a merchant-boat will ever be converted into a yacht. It is a question of build more than of weight. Mr. Weller's book is planned on lines of use, and it would have been more useful still if he had given us those references which undoubtedly are in his notebook. In discussing the older Parthenon he does not even mention the American scholars to whom the results he summarizes are due. His highly technical description gives facts hitherto only to be found in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, but he does not add that these facts were obtained by American architects who were allowed to raise portions of the paving, a work requiring both skill and discretion. The evidence buried in the substructure, combined with well-known traces of the periods of construction in the podium, indicate the existence of two successive beginnings. To avoid confusion it might also have been stated that the plan given in Fig. 171 is conjectural.

The illustrations add greatly to the value of the book. It is the first time that so many illustrations of the statues mentioned by Pausanias have been brought together, and if Mr. Weller is sometimes a little lenient in his attributions (as in Figs. 94 and 158), that is more than compensated by his wide and unusual selection. The reproductions of drawings by Stuart and Revett are interesting, and not easily accessible elsewhere.

In matters of detail Mr. Weller's accuracy is above praise, but there are a few minor points which might receive his consideration in preparing a second edition:

P. 21. Cæsius should read Cærias.

P. 182. There is no doubt that Byron used the so-called Lantern of Demosthenes as his study. Several of his letters are dated from here.

P. 149. "Thievish and — wights" (a word missing).

P. 249. Is it not straining a point to say that the herm of Alcamenes resembles the style of Pheidias?

P. 264. The Frankfort statue of Athena, from the Athena and Marsyas group, is not headless, though the head is detached.

P. 372 (Fig. 243): The bridge is made to carry the river over the road instead of the road over the river.

## COMMERCIAL NOTES

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### MOTOR TRANSPORT IN THE BALKAN WARS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A NEW FIELD FOR  
BRITISH ENTERPRISE

BY CAPTAIN A. H. TRAPMAN

ONE of the most noticeable effects of the recent wars upon Greece is the great impulse given to every form of motor transport. At the outbreak of hostilities on October 17, 1912, there were only 97 motor vehicles registered in the whole of Greece, whilst to-day in Athens alone there are some 280 privately-owned motors, not to mention some 500 cars and lorries belonging to the Government; and it is common knowledge that the Government are at the moment inviting tenders for some 500 additional commercial lorries, whilst private individuals are importing motors daily for commercial or private use. The recent campaigns have formed the very finest advertisement that the motor-car industry has ever had throughout the Balkan States. It is interesting to trace the military, economical, and commercial history of this boom, which is only now at its very first commencement, since it is only a few months since the Greek army was demobilized and trade conditions returned to the normal.

In the autumn of 1912, it may be stated, with a very few exceptions, the motors in Greece were luxurious privately-owned pleasure-cars. These the Government at

once commandeered for the service of the army, principally for the use of Generals and their staffs. The owners of these cars were wealthy gentlemen who did not even know how to drive, and had purchased their motors abroad in Paris or Milan upon the recommendation of some friend. A large percentage of the chauffeurs who drove these cars were foreigners. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to say that there were not a dozen Greeks in the country who had even the most elementary knowledge concerning motors. Public opinion was totally uninstructed. The very names of the leading European makers were ignored. It is doubtful whether anybody in the country could have named more than half a dozen different manufacturers, and even to-day I doubt if any Greek could name more than three British firms.

At the outset of the first war the first consideration in placing orders was the question of rapid delivery; and here, naturally enough, France and Italy scored by their geographical positions. The Greek Government, being totally ignorant of all technical knowledge, bought the cheapest article in the nearest market, quite irrespective of workmanship, design, or suitability. The one technical expression which the purchasers understood was "H.P.," and in selecting chassis for purchase the principal consideration (after the all-important question of immediate delivery) was to obtain the greatest horse-power at the lowest price. Naturally enough, a very large percentage of "crocks" were foisted off, and in one instance a large consignment of Renault touring-car chassis were fitted with lorry bodies, and did duty for the transport of heavy stores. The delivery was immediate, the average price per horse-power worked out economically, and that was the only criterion the purchasers understood.

Naturally enough, firms who had already supplied vehicles were the first to be applied to when repeat orders were to be placed, with the result that, although the Government purchased hundreds of motors during the period of hostilities,

the orders were mostly confined to a selected ring of half a dozen manufacturers in Italy, France, and Germany.

Now, there is no country in Europe where the roads are so bad and so few as in the Balkans, and for this reason the general staffs of the various Balkan armies had given no thought to the question of motor transport. The question arose automatically when the scarcity of horseflesh became apparent, and obtained a definite answer when the contending armies discovered, to their surprise, how efficiently a modern motor-lorry can negotiate seemingly impossible tracks. By the end of November the Greek general staff at least had come to the conclusion that the only possible way of feeding their armies at the front was by motor transport, even if roads had to be made for the motors to run on. From a purely military point of view, I think the greatest lesson the Balkan wars have to teach us is the hitherto undreamt-of value of motor transport as compared with animal transport.

It must be remembered that the tide of war carried the Greek army into wide tracts of country where railways were unknown, and where a motor-car had never before made its appearance. As peace succeeded to war, the inhabitants, who had hitherto looked upon thirty miles as the limit of a day's journey, began to clamour for the convenience of this new form of conveyance, which they had seen give such excellent results during the actual campaign. The Greek Government, eager to please the inhabitants of their newly-acquired territories, utilized such vehicles as could be spared from purely military duties for the temporary establishment of public conveyance routes throughout the new territories, and up-country merchants tasted the joys of performing in a few hours journeys which hitherto had occupied almost as many days. Wherever the Government established temporary commercial routes, their vehicles were crowded to overflowing, and the price of transport was quite a secondary consideration.

For the most part, however, the services maintained by



the Government for the joint benefit of the civilian and military elements were hopelessly mismanaged. The drivers knew absolutely nothing about their cars save how to handle the steering wheels. Never have services been worse or less economically run. In the hands of a Greek military chauffeur the average life of a car was six weeks, and that of a brand-new tyre fifty or sixty miles! But even on this extravagant basis the traffic was found to be profitable, and was continued until demobilization of the army automatically abolished the *raison d'être* for a regular quasi-military service.

The Government, however, was not slow to realize the possibilities of the motor in a country where distances are great and railways are very few. There is a vast scheme afoot for running some 500 Government-owned motor-lorries and charabancs along the more frequented roads, for the conveyance of mails, passengers, and goods, with the idea that in the event of another war these vehicles would be invaluable for the service of the army. At the present moment tenders for the supply of this preliminary fleet are being invited at Athens, and there can be no doubt, when it is found that such services can be run profitably in time of peace, that they will be greatly extended, if not by Government, at least by commercial enterprise.

It is interesting to note the after-effects of war, which is said to be such a disastrous calamity for trade and commerce. Firstly, it should be placed on record that throughout the war neither Greek securities nor the rate of exchange ever varied. The call of patriotism brought back to the country thousands of Greeks who had emigrated, and a large percentage of these are remaining in the country for which they have fought (no less than 67,000 Greeks returned from the United States of America alone, and served as soldiers in the campaign). Next only in importance to the currant industry, the shipping trade holds a prominent part in Greece. Thanks to the fact that Greece maintained command of the sea, her shipowners enjoyed a boom of

trade at inflated prices. Lastly, the population and the area of new Greece is double that of the Hellenic Kingdom before the war ; and not only will all the existing industries bring grist to the mill, but under a progressive Government there is a tremendous outlet for the capitalist, who will no longer be hampered by the antiquated embargoes of Turkish rule.

What is true of Greece is also true, if in a minor degree, of Servia, Roumania, and even Bulgaria. Provided that peace can be maintained, there is no finer outlet for capital than in the Balkan States. Here we have a population desirous for all the amenities of civilization, a population that is not only hardy, industrious, and intelligent, but exceedingly frugal and temperate. Quite nine-tenths of the newly-acquired lands are undeveloped, and, although minerals and oil are known to exist, no mining enterprise has ever attacked the virgin soil of what erstwhile was known as " Turkey in Europe." So soon as Western financiers and traders begin to realize these salient facts there will be an immense boom in Balkan affairs, and those who are far-seeing enough to " come in early " will reap the full benefits of their far-sightedness.

The trade of the port of Athens has more than trebled itself during the past decade, whilst Greek Macedonia contains the most important silk-worm and tobacco areas in the world. Freed from the insuperable objections of Turkish rule, these two industries will prove a source of enormous wealth. It will be suggested that, if my contentions are true, the opportunities for successful railway enterprise are even rosier than those for motor expansion ; but it must be remembered that the possibility of war cannot be neglected. In war time a railway suffers not only loss of trade, but material damage to rolling stock and the permanent way ; whilst the worst that can happen to a motor transport business is that its vehicles would be taken over at a pre-arranged valuation by the Government. It is important to note that, so far as Greece is concerned, the Government

have no power to *requisition* the motor vehicles of a foreign subject, and in point of fact, during the recent wars, did not attempt to take over such vehicles, except in so much as they offered splendid prices to foreigners willing to sell.

After a careful study, executed on the spot, of the possibilities for motor enterprises in Greece alone, I am convinced that there is ample scope for an exceedingly remunerative investment of nearly £1,000,000; and should any firm have the courage to establish a motor car and lorry factory in the vicinity of Athens, the success of the venture would be phenomenal.

It is a curious fact that, although English is spoken by most of the official and commercial classes in Greece, British industry is practically unrepresented. Very few of the agents who do represent English firms enjoy the confidence of the Government officials, and there is no doubt that British firms do not enjoy the same facilities as do the French or Germans.

Having dealt with the commercial aspect of the situation, let us turn to consider the military lessons learnt during the recent campaigns so far as they affect motor transport. In view of all the factors which militated against the use of motor transport, it is astonishing that motors were used at all, and still more astonishing that they were used almost to the exclusion of all other means of transport. If in Balkania—where the roads are bad or non-existent, where chauffeurs are still worse and rarer, where a competent mechanic does not exist—practically the whole transport of an army is motor-borne, we can imagine what is likely to happen in Western Europe, in the event of war, as regards transport. If after six weeks of war Greece realized she must pin her faith to motor transport—Greece, who hitherto had not possessed six commercial motor vehicles, if she possessed as many!—we can imagine what is likely to happen in England, France, or Germany, where the utility of the motor is already understood, and where a horse famine becomes daily more threatening.

Personally I am convinced that ten years hence the horse for army transport purposes will be entirely superseded ; and even should my prophecy prove incorrect, then I would amend it by saying that after the first ten weeks of war the horse will be superseded for transport purposes. I even go a step farther, for I foresee an era when motor infantry—infantry soldiers carried to the vicinity of the battle-field in motor omnibuses and charabancs—will play an all-important part in war in countries where even only a few roads exist. Cavalry shock tactics are merely a romantic survival of the past ; fire-power, rapidity of movement, a plentiful ammunition and food supply, will be the deciding factors of the war of to-morrow, and these desiderata are possessed by the infantryman who has a motor conveyance to carry himself and his supplies.

The deadly effect of modern weapons has induced extended fighting formations ; the adoption of the motor will bring with it an era of extended marching formations. In the old days thirty soldiers could march twenty miles a day, and when in battle array showed a front of fifteen paces, whilst on the march they covered a road space of some eight yards. The thirty motor infantrymen of to-morrow will cover eighty miles a day, show a front of sixty paces, and take up a road space of thirty yards or so on the march, if we allow for the interval between vehicles. Such, to my reading, is the writing upon the wall.

In conclusion I would urge the British motor industry to duly study the requisites of the military motor both for the transport of stores and for troops. The tendency at present is for military officials with an extensive knowledge of military requirements, and no knowledge at all of commercial requirements, to lay down the law, and to specify types of vehicles to which alone subsidies will be paid. It is easy in times of peace to lay down given rules, but when war comes it will be found that the Government will be only too anxious to take over any type of vehicle which will run on four wheels under its own power. It is also

obvious that commercial firms who have experience of motor transport, and who run their business with the object of making money, will evolve the most economical and reliable means of transport. In comparison with these firms the military authorities have very little experience, and are apt to strive after an ideal rather than after a practical type of vehicle. In peace time the military authorities make regulations regarding the purchase of motors which they will incontinently break the moment that war is imminent.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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## MOROCCO AND EUPHEMISMS OF THE PRESS\*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

In a recent issue of this Review Mr. Charles Rosher made an eloquent appeal for the claims of poor Morocco to the sympathetic interest of English readers, and it may seem that he left little to be said—at any rate, for the present—on this theme. But there is one accessory branch of the subject on which I may be permitted to offer a few remarks from the point of view of a simple student of words.

It is very difficult to write about this hapless land and her people in language sufficiently clear as to convey the true idea desired. The most conscientious master of a pen is compelled by journalistic convention to use terms which, although comprehended by a select few, tell practically a lie to the general public. A French Protectorate newspaper, for instance, informs us that "General Brulard's column will shortly proceed south to secure the pacification of the Soos provinces." This reads quite nicely. We have all been taught in our young days that pacification, from our old friend *pax*, means making peace. Now, in Moroccan journalese, its sense is not only different from, but diametrically opposed to, peace-making. It means making war. And a war of conquest, which almost to a

\* By R. L. N. Johnston, writer of "The Songs of Sidi Hammo," "Fadma," and other works on Morocco.

certainly means a war of extermination so far as the fighting men of the region to be "pacified" are concerned.

Similarly, we speak, or at any rate write, about Moulai Yousf as His Sharifian Majesty the Sultan. Now Moulai Yousf, one of the great Moulai el Hassan's many sons, is undoubtedly Sharifian, but he is no more Sultan, save in the fertile imagination of the Protectorate pressmen, than you or I. Not a Muslim in all Sunset Land, always excepting the gang of courtiers who are growing fat on the enslavement of their country, calls him anything but Moulai Yousf. Having betrayed his people and his faith to secure for himself an inglorious life of pampered ease, he may still, for all I know, solace his personal vanity with the proud title, "Commander of the Faithful," *Amir ul Moumenin*; but every man in Morocco—Christian, Moslim, and Jew—knows that he is the servant of the unbelievers.

Perhaps these two illustrations may suffice to give an idea—for a hundred others might be quoted—of the grotesque manner in which we are, almost unconsciously, giving to the folks at home distorted versions of facts.

But there is something I should like to add, as briefly as may be, which, perhaps, is more important than verbal accuracy. We are so accustomed in the homeland to regard the Moor either as a Raisuli brigand, or simply as a fitting hero for a comic opera, that our mental vision is necessarily obscured to his real nature, more especially as it is affected by his faith in the Unseen. Now, the true Moor, whether he be of Arab or of Berber descent, is a fervent and reverent believer in one God, lord of the universe. In the language of the country—and many other countries—he calls Him Alláh. And this name covers meanings far more profound and far wider than some of us are disposed to realize. I should like to ask any fellow Christian of average education what his ideas are of the central, all-embracing belief taught by Mohammed with regard to the nature of the Deity. As one might have to pause long for an intelligible reply, let me try to

give my own impressions. Taking up a copy of the Koran, or Sale's excellent translation, I find that every chapter begins with the brief but lofty exordium: *In the Name of the Most Merciful God*. And moreover, whatever else is taught to the Moorish boy by his father's scribe, the duty of almsgiving, the desirability, if possible, of making the pilgrimage, and so forth, the one thing he is never allowed to forget is the limitless compassion of the Almighty.

Perhaps I have said enough to indicate that our hapless Moroccan friend is not wholly unworthy of rather more than the scant sympathy he has hitherto received at the hands of Christian England. As the Moorish adage runs: "To be understood is better than a gift."

R. L. N. JOHNSTON.

MOGADOR,

June 24, 1914.

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MR. NOEL BUXTON AND ARMENIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

In view of the mixed reception accorded to Mr. Buxton's book, I hope you will permit me, as one who has some knowledge of the conditions there, to state my views as briefly as possible in these columns.

On taking up the small volume entitled "Travel and Politics in Armenia," by Noel Buxton, M.P., and the Rev. H. Buxton, with an introduction by Viscount Bryce, and a contribution on Armenian history and culture by Aram Raffi, one could not help but be impressed by the title, and hope that the authors would really add to our knowledge of one of the great questions of nearer Eastern politics. Frankly, we are disappointed. Even the facile introduction by Viscount Bryce, who naturally, in pleasant literary phrase, refuses to discuss the main problem suggested by the book, will not make the work one of any permanent value or interest. It is too obviously the product of a rather irrational enthusiast.



That the authors have journeyed within Turkish lands at various times is a matter of little import (as they assure us in the preface), unless they convey the impression that they have profited sufficiently by their experiences to understand the inner natures of the various people and peoples they have seen. This they do not do.

The main argument of the writers seems to be that the Armenians are "much-misunderstood women," who have the potentiality to be a real live nation; nevertheless, the author's advice is that they be turned over to the Russians to be governed by them. To our mind, this contradiction vitiates any value the book might, from its title-page, be supposed to possess.

The 160 pages by the Messrs. Buxton could, so far as real thought or original presentation of an old theme goes, be boiled down to twenty. The illustrations are not particularly characteristic nor interesting, and the constant descriptions of landscape or incidents of commonplace travel are very tiresome, utterly valueless to anyone accustomed to the East, and so ungraphic that they can serve no purpose for anyone.

Too often, also, do the authors state their liking for Young Turks, Armenians, Russians, and everyone else. So general a liking can be based on no true principle of selection, but is due to the tiresomely common feeling of the "man-in-the-street" of English superiority.

Chapter I. is taken up mainly with a harrowing description of the horrors of the Kurds, and their treatment of the Armenians. That the former do often steal sheep or commit murder in tribal warfare is unquestioned, but so do the Armenians. Furthermore, the obvious suggestion of the authors that the Kurds are a terrible and dangerous people who obey no law and are never kept under control, is scarcely one that will be accepted by those of us who have often travelled with perfect safety and comfort under the ægis of the Turkish Government. Such a story as that told on p. 17 needs explanation. One wants to know

whether it was the Olympian frown of the authors that caused the sudden "chill" to weaken the courage of the Kurds.

The little joke about giving a knife and fork (p. 26) to a native who was accustomed to eating with his fingers also betokens the mentality of the authors.

The chapters (II., III., and IV.) on Armenia are very trifling. In the first we get the suggestion that Armenia be turned over to Russia, but the authors do not inform us whether they are sure the Russian Government cares to take charge of some millions of petty shopkeepers. The next chapter (III.) is little but a glorified guide-book description of Tiflis; and the last (IV.) has nothing we cannot find in ordinary books of reference, and adds nothing whatever to our understanding of the Armenian question. Such statements as, "Personal religion suffers because individuals have not the freedom or leisure to follow their own bent" (p. 84), show the unbaked powers of thought of the writers.

Chapter V., "Moslem States," is superficial to a degree. The description of a bazaar and its horrors is very early Victorian, and the statements about Turks are more than doubtful.

In Chapter VI. we come to the main thesis of the book. The first half is a potpourri of very questionable generalizations about the Powers; the last half contains the suggestion (vaguely stated before) that the Armenians ought to be given over to Russian rule—that if this were done they would become a happy, well-to-do nation. It does no harm for the authors to hold this sweet and innocuous belief, but their arguments are very unconvincing, and when one reads in the last part of the book the history of Armenia by Aram Raffi, and finds that the Armenians have never for any great length of time been able to hold their own against outside oppression, one doubts whether a little sentimental English aid will really be of much assistance to them. The likeness drawn by the authors of

Armenia to Egypt is too silly for words. Historically, racially, geographically, the dissimilarity is complete.

On the whole, we cannot echo the gratitude of the authors to the editors of the *Contemporary Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and the *World's Work*, for allowing the articles which constitute the volume to be reprinted.

Yours,

ISIDOR MORSE.

59A, BROOK STREET, W.

## THE WAR AND INDIA

WE have been asked on many sides what effect will the present War with Germany have on India, and we have had the advantage of talking to a representative Indian gentleman on this subject. He is an advanced thinker and man of prominent position, in whom Indians of all classes have the highest confidence. His opinion was that it would be well for India if the tension between the great Powers of Europe could be ended once for all.

This rivalry in armaments, he declared, was bad for India. It was only when this disappeared that Great Britain could give proper attention to the solution of outstanding questions vitally affecting the best interests of India.

As to the attitude of the Indian peoples towards this question, there can be no doubt of their unswerving loyalty towards the British Crown, and of their eager desire to see their King-Emperor triumphant in this great War into which he has been so reluctantly driven. And one only has to recall the wave of enthusiasm that swept over India when the Great Queen called on her Indian Army to garrison Malta to realize how gratified India would be if her troops were called upon to hold Egypt and outlying parts of the Empire on behalf of the British Crown.

It may seem strange to some who do not understand the Indian peoples to find them so united in loyalty to their present rulers ; but personal devotion to the Sovereign has always been a virtue common to all the castes and creeds

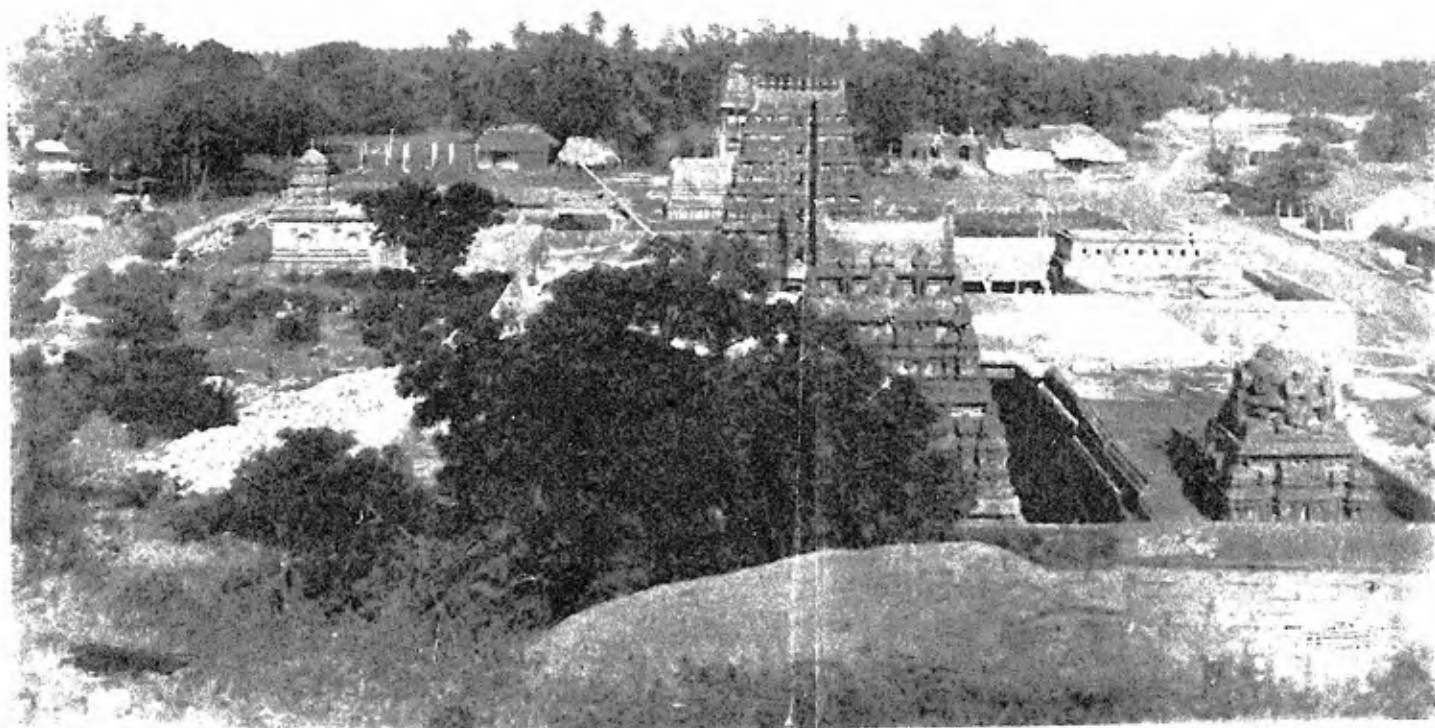
in India. The readiness with which they submit themselves to constituted authority is one of the most striking facts in their complicated history, and it must never be forgotten that the fighting classes of our great Dependency have always followed gladly the "roll of British drum when it summoned them to war." Look at the splendid way the Sikhs and Rajputs fought for us along the shores of the Red Sea, far away from their homes, and how splendidly they carried stockade after stockade in the great Burmese War, and how gallantly our Muhammadan forces have stood by us on many a hard-fought field! In short, it may be said of our Army in India that it has never failed to respond promptly and loyally to the faintest call of duty.

The Army is drawn from the masses of the people, and the masses are proud of their sons who fight the battles of the "Sarkar," and in many a remote village in India the tale is told how the sons of the soil helped the English to roll back the tide of war on the frontiers, and to drive her enemies without the gates.

And if this be true of the masses of the Indian people, how much more true is it of the ruling Chiefs? Look how promptly they have responded whenever the Imperial Government has turned to them for help! It would be almost invidious to mention names, but we may select as a type of such loyalty and devotion H.H. Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. Britain will never forget how he and Chiefs like him have stood by her side when calamity seemed to threaten or difficulties arose.

Remembering all this we have no hesitation in recording our opinion that this War, which has been forced upon us and is not of our seeking will bear fruit in stimulating an increased growth of the goodwill and loyalty of the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Sea and from the sands of Baluchistan to the forests of Burma.





GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM THE ROYAGOPURAM WEST

*To face p. 49.*





N. ✓  
✓

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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